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CARIBBEAN-CANADIANS CELEBRATE CARNIVAL: COSTUMES AND INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

Jean Thomasine Walrond-Patterson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree

of Master of Science

in

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled CARIBBEAN-CANADIANS CELEBRATE CARNIVAL: COSTUMES AND INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS submitted by Jean Thomasine Walrond-Patterson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Textiles and Clothing.

Professor Anne Lambert, Supervisor

Dr. Marlene Cox-Bishop, Committee Member

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September 21, 1999

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the brothers and sisters from the Caribbean who introduced **mas'** to Edmonton. It is especially dedicated to those who have worked tirelessly to keep Caribbean culture alive in Edmonton. Without their efforts, this body of work would not have been possible. Thank you.

Abstract

In 1985, the Western Carnival Development Association (WCDA) introduced Cariwest Caribbean Arts Festival, to Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. One highlight of this festival is a Carnival parade of bands in colourful costumes. As a child in Trinidad and Tobago I experienced Carnival when I attended the parades with my family. When I came to Montreal, Canada in 1968 I was only able to recapture those earlier experiences when I made infrequent visits to Trinidad. In 1992 I had my first Canadian Caribbean Carnival experience when I played mas' in Edmonton.

Using self reflection, participant observation, interviews, video and still photography, I documented the Carnival experiences of people in Edmonton and in Trinidad and Tobago. NUD*IST 4© (Richards, 1997), was used as an analysis tool to help identify the key words, phrases, categories and concepts describing what it means to celebrate Carnival.

Participants felt that the festival provided rich cultural affirmations, and opportunities for positive self-awareness with costumes aiding in cultural transmittance and transference. Some teenagers were ambivalent about the event. Further research is needed to understand their reluctance to be seen as different. Mainstream institutions such as museums and schools need to explore opportunities to incorporate the multicultural immigrant experience in their programs.

Acknowledgements

I offer prayers to God, the Almighty for his guidance. To my parents Horace Eton Walrond and Cosille Walrond (both deceased) I give thanks because they inspired me to cherish knowledge.

I express heartfelt thanks to Michael A. Patterson, my husband, for your unquestioning support as well as your photographic and technical skills.

To my two girls, Abiona and Michelle I say thanks for your encouragement. We attended the University of Alberta together, shared my car and some classes and learnt a lot about each other and from each other through those years.

I thank Anne Lambert for her help and encouragement. Thanks Anne and family for the many pictures you took of the festival.

I wish to thank all those at the University of Alberta and the Department of Human Ecology who contributed to my rewarding experience. Thanks also to the Graduate Scholarship Committee for the many awards and scholarships I received. These were the Engberg Graduate Scholarship in International Home Economics, Graduate Studies and Research Scholarships and the Walter H. Johns Memorial Scholarship. Thanks also go to Museums Alberta and the University of Alberta for the travel grants which partially funded my research in Trinidad and Tobago.

My committee members get thanks for their thoughtful perspectives on my research. These will be taken into account when I do future research.

I thank my siblings Esmond Bunny, Shirley, Horace Billy and Keith Michael for their prayers, encouragement and at times brotherly and sisterly advice on my research topic. To my story-telling cousin, Vayne, the keeper of the family history, thanks for refreshing my memory. Donna, thanks for uncovering the "Gateway" information at the Book and Records Depository (B.A.R.D.), University of Alberta Libraries.

Thanks also to my fellow students, Anne Bagan, Pam Bailey, Mari Bergen, Sheila Gillen, Tannis Grant, Valerie Gross, Irene Karsten, Effy Katahan and Peggy Mann, you all contributed to lasting and fun-filled memories.

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Introduction

Mas' Glorious Mas'

For the two days before Ash Wednesday the overall impression is that the people of Trinidad and Tobago (see Figure 1) take to the streets of these islands to **play mas'**. To ***play mas'*** is to don a costume and parade as an individual or in a ***band*** (see Figure 2). This costume can be anything from a compilation of old rags, body coverings of grease or mud, to the more expensive accoutrements of beads, feathers and fabrics. The main objective is that these costumes express a specific theme. Once in costume the masqueraders, or people in costume ***jump-up*** or dance rhythmically, to the accompaniment of musical bands on the streets, avenues, lanes and alleyways of cities and towns. The people who live in Trinidad are accustomed to this festivity and I think it is the one tradition that people most miss when they migrate from these islands. Trinidad and Tobago Carnival incorporates the elements of the ***steelband***, an acoustic musical instrument that was invented in Trinidad in the early twentieth century, along with the elements of costume, traditional ***Calypso*** and contemporary ***Soca*** music.

The spread of Carnival to other parts of the world occurred in conjunction with the migration trends of people from the Caribbean (see Figure 3). However while there is the tendency to group the people from the West Indies and hold them collectively responsible for the cultural attributes of the area, it is the people from Trinidad and Tobago who are responsible for this carnival's artistry, diasporic spread and promotion (Stewart, 1986; Manning, 1989; Foster, 1996; Riggio, 1998). England's Notting Hill Carnival, New York's Brooklyn Carnival, Toronto's ***Caribana*** festival and Edmonton's ***Cariwest*** festival are only four examples of these Carnival offshoots. The concurrent spreading and reinventing of Carnival within areas where West Indians have gathered have meant that many people from the Caribbean are now familiar with the Trinidad style Carnival (Riggio,

1998), that I refer to in my thesis.

Throughout this thesis I will refer to many places in Trinidad and Tobago, the Caribbean, and parts of Edmonton which will be indicated on maps. All the colloquial words listed in this thesis appear in italics and are explained in a glossary at the end of the thesis.

Figure 1. Map of Trinidad and Tobago which shows the important cities and towns including insets of the West Indies and Port of Spain. *Reprinted with permission from the Department of Colonial Surveys. Photographed and printed by War Office, 1947.*

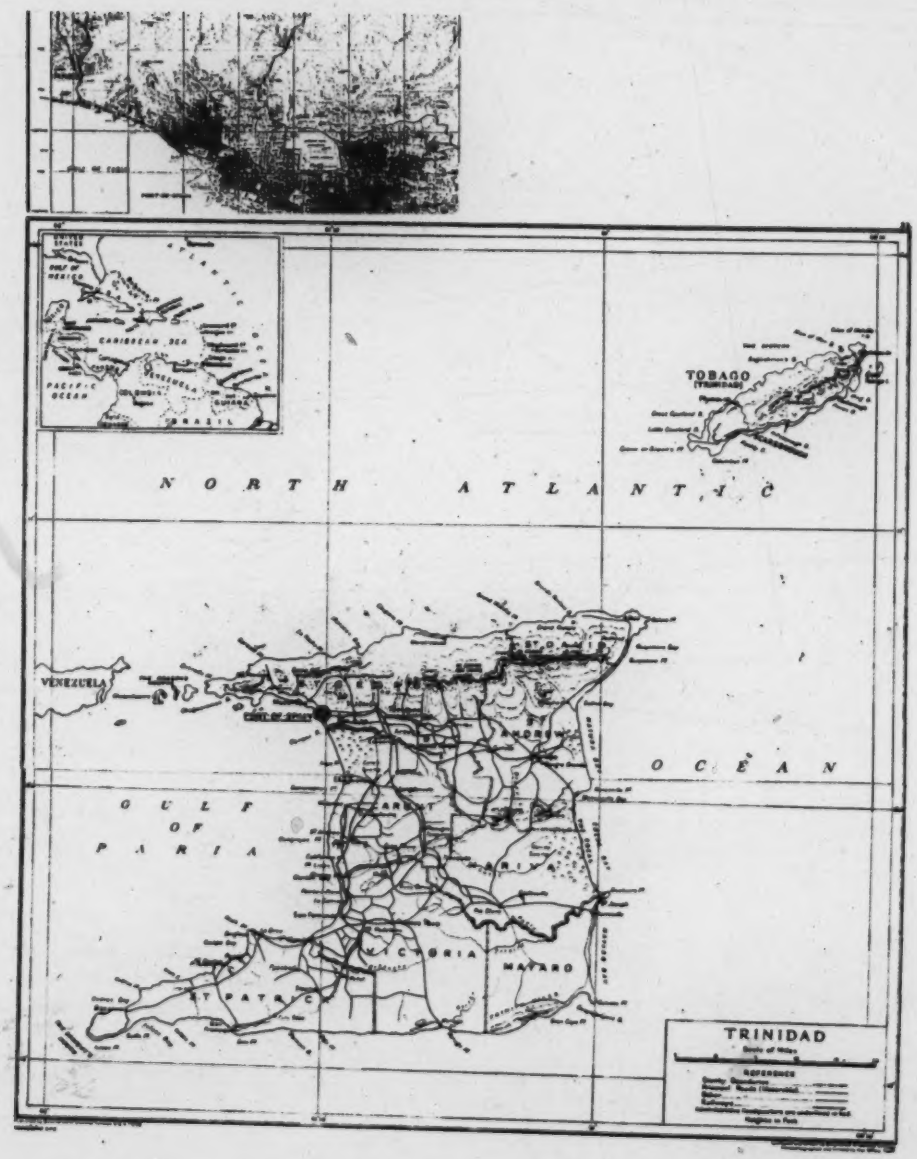


Figure 2. A masquerader wears his mask, designed to be worn on the face, around his neck. This masquerader plays with the spectators on 124th Street, Edmonton in 1994. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 3. A map of the West Indies, the Bahamas, and parts of Central and South America. It illustrates the migration patterns into the West Indies from 1498 to Early 20th Century and migration out of the West Indies from the mid 1950's to 1999. *Adapted from Nunley and Bettelheim, 1988 & ©Corel Corporation, 1992.*

Figure 4. 1992 Junior Carnival Queen is shown here in side view on display at the Costume Extravaganza event at Mayfield Conference Centre, Edmonton. The costume is partially supported on wheels[1], and helps the costumed individual as she *"jumps up". Photographs reprinted with permission from WCDA-Cariwest.*

Figure 5. In 1997 my husband, Michael, and I participated in the Grey Cup Parade as two members of a sailor band. Michael is originally from Guyana, South America which does not have a history of Carnival. This was the first time my husband wore a costume. *Photograph by Michael A. Patterson*.

Figure 6. Masquerader plays a swan from the band "Crystal and Light"portrayed by Mas Productions in 1996.This costume is made with thousands of one-inch square pieces of polyethylene films. Although it is quite large it does not have any wheels. This masquerader says that the wheels curtail her ability to jump up so she prefers to wear costumes without wheels. *Photograph by Michael A. Patterson.*

Figure 7. An individual from the band "Aladdin" by Mas Productions in 1993 dances at a post-parade gathering in Coronation Park, Edmonton. Wire bending techniques are predominant in the structure. *Photograph by Michael A. Patterson.*

Figure 8. Hundreds of plumes are incorporated with layers of netting and sequins in this costume which spans about 12 feet. *Photographs reprinted with permission from WCDA.*

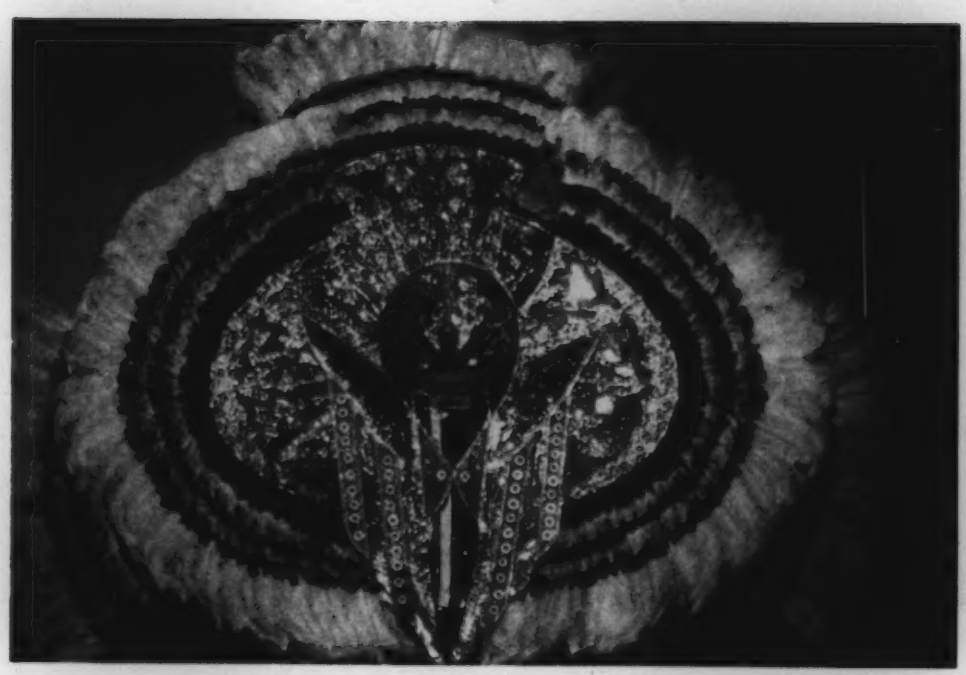


Figure 9. This costume is structured with poles and polyethylene film, and decorated with sequins. It is supported by the individual and wheels. This costume won the Carnival Queen competition in 1994. *Photograph reprinted with permission from WCDA.*

Figure 10. A masqueráder in Mill Woods, Edmonton, disguised as an "Egyptian Alley Cat" from the band "Land of the Pharaohs" by Mas Productions in 1992. The mask is designed as a cat's face and extends above the wearer's face. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Caribbean Immigrant Trends for Canada

Table 1. Caribbean immigration trends for Canada from 1955 to 1998, totalled over four year periods. Data is taken from Cansim (1999, June 2), Immigration to Canada by country or last permanent residence, quarterly, number of persons: West Indies D39 21.4.2 (persons).

Year - grouped over 4 years	Population
1955 - 1958	4,205
1959 - 1962	5,076
1963 - 1966	11,626
1967 - 1970	38,384
1971 - 1974	62,028
1975 - 1978	52,217
1979 - 1982	29,526
1983 - 1986	27,852
1987 - 1990	43,264
1991 - 1994	54,416
1995 - 1998	33,958

An unprecedented number of immigrants came from the Caribbean to Canada during the 1960's. The majority of these people, many of whom were from Trinidad and Tobago settled in Toronto, Ontario. Data from Statistics Canada (1999) show that over one hundred and fifty-two thousand Caribbean immigrants came to Canada during the years 1967 to 1978 (see Table 1 and Figure 11). To date this level of immigration has not been surpassed. Edmonton's Caribbean immigrant population has also increased. The latest census data state that the number of Caribbean immigrants now living in Edmonton and the surrounding metropolitan areas[2] is 6,775 of a total population of 854,225

(Statistics Canada, 1998) (See Figure 12).

Manning (1989) stated that "persons of Caribbean birth or ancestry have become a sizable constituency in major cities of North America and Western Europe" (p. 3). He goes on to say that wherever they settle they usually "announce their presence through the public performance of remembered and reinvented versions of their festival traditions" (Manning, 1989, p. 3). The success of these festival traditions in places like Toronto, Montreal and New York, has encouraged Trinidad and Tobago immigrants to promote Carnival in other Canadian centres. The celebrants of this Carnival have several different ancestral backgrounds. The West Indian population is a multicultural mix, of indigenous Amerindians and many others originating from Africa, the Orient (the Indian subcontinent and China), Great Britain, Europe and the Middle East.

Figure 11. The graph shows Caribbean immigration trends for Canada from 1955 to 1998 and illustrates the increase in population that occurred after 1963. *Prepared by Jean Walrond-Patterson with data from Cansim, (1999, June 2).*

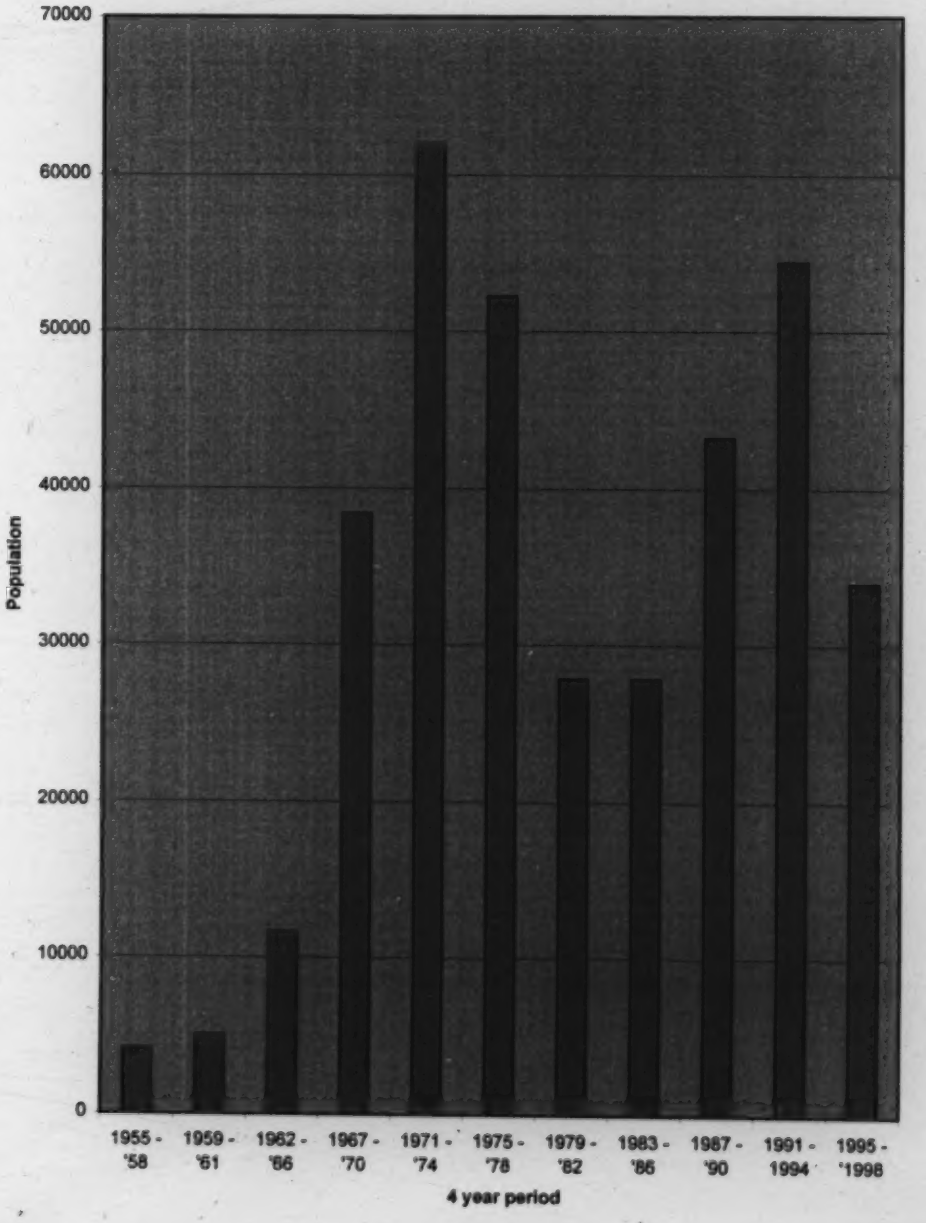
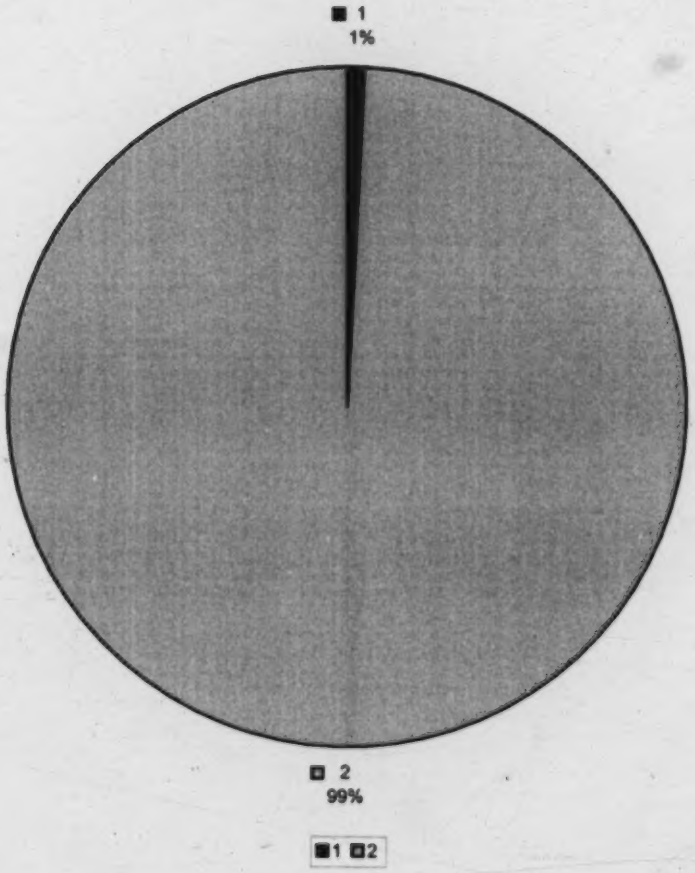


Figure 12. The pie graph shows the Caribbean Immigrant Population in Metropolitan Edmonton as a percentage of the Population of Metropolitan Edmonton. The actual percentage is 0.79. (Compiled from Statistics Canada data, 1998).

Demographic	Population
Metropolitan Edmonton	854,225
Caribbean	6,775

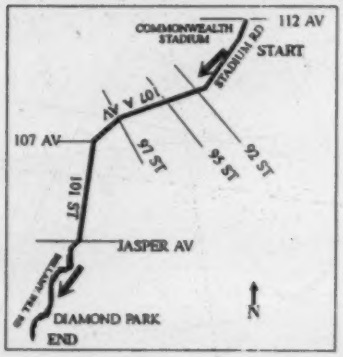


Cariwest Festival in Edmonton

Carnival costumes are an integral part of the Carnival celebration. Individuals in masquerade bands wear these with each band depicting a specific theme. These themes are drawn from "history, literature, folklore, fantasy, current events, [ecology, politics] . . . or any domain of popular culture" (Manning, 1983, p. 4, & Crowley, 1956).

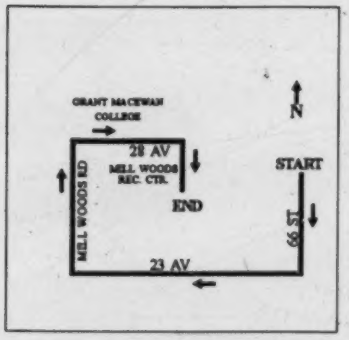
In the past the Edmonton ***Cariwest*** festival, sponsored by the Western Caribbean Development Association (WCDA), occurred on the last weekend of June. Over the years it has been held in several areas in the city. Figures 13, 14 and 15 show the three previous parade routes that were used and some of the masquerade bands that participated since the festival's inception in 1985. In 1998 the organizers moved the festival route to Edmonton's main street, Jasper Avenue (Figure 16). This was accompanied by a date change to the second weekend in August as the organizers hoped that the change in time will improve the chances of having a rain free parade. The move to the downtown area has increased the festival's profile but more importantly, as the only festival to parade on Jasper Avenue in 1998, it contributed to the vitality of Edmonton's downtown area and gained for the association a 1998 Downtown Development Award nomination from Edmonton's Downtown Development Association (Edmonton Downtown Development Corporation 1997 - 1998 Annual Report, 1999).

Figure 13. The first Western Carnival Development Association (WCDA) parade in Edmonton originated at Commonwealth Stadium and concluded at Diamond Park in 1985. This photograph shows the parade route and the type of mas' that one would most likely have seen on that route on that day. This is a sailor band which is a relatively inexpensive type of mas'. *Photograph reprinted with permission from WCDA.*



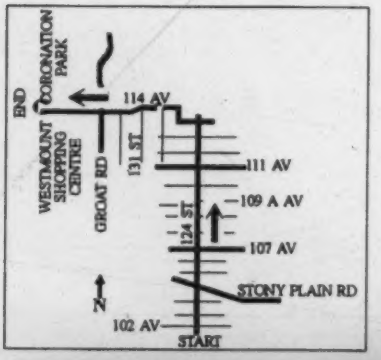
1st CARIWEST PARADE ROUTE

Figure 14: The second Cariwest parade route was in the Mill Woods subdivision of Edmonton, AB. in 1992. The parade went through residential areas and was not quite suitable for our type of Carnival parade. The photograph shows masqueraders from the band *Pharaohs of Egypt"* by Mas Productions. *Photograph by Michael A. Patterson.*



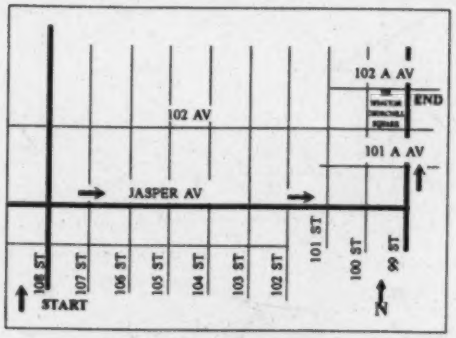
2nd CARIWEST PARADE ROUTE

Figure 15. In 1993 the parade was along 124 Street in the west end of the city. It remained there until 1997. One of the bands that participated in 1993 was Movements: The Afro-Caribbean Dance Ensemble which portrayed *"On our way to Amber Valley"*, a re-enactment of the arrival of the first Blacks who travelled from Oklahoma to settle in Northern Alberta. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*



3rd CARIWEST PARADE ROUTE

Figure 16. Jasper Avenue was the new parade route for the Cariwest Festival in 1998. Seven *competitive* bands participated in the parade and *India through the Ages* by Robert Norman from Vancouver, British Columbia was one of these bands. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*



4th CARIWEST PARADE ROUTE

The Research Process

Through my personal voyage which included reflectivity, interviews, and observation, I discovered what it means to celebrate Trinidad style Carnival in Edmonton. During this voyage I took two side trips. The first was back in time to reminisce about past meanings and impressions. The second was to Trinidad and Tobago in 1998 to observe how much the Carnival phenomenon there had changed during my absence. These side trips were important because they provided a proper context for the Carnival in Edmonton. Through this research I gained a better understanding of Edmonton's Carnival and how this phenomenon has influenced the lives of the individuals, families and communities of the people who introduced it to Edmonton.

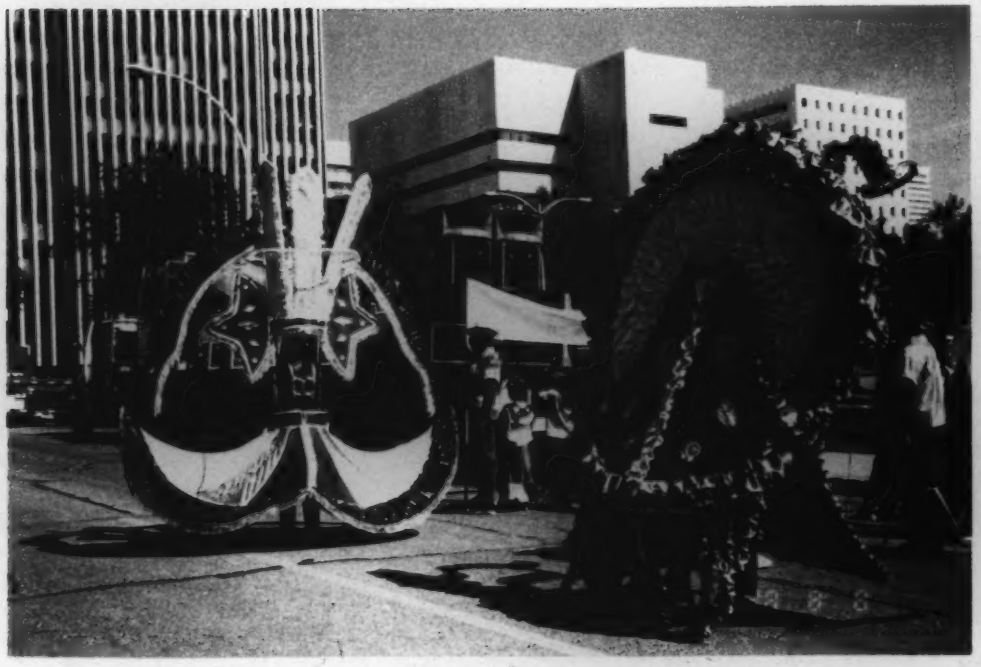
The *ole talkers, griots*, story tellers, all informants in my research, were "ordinary . . . [people] living ordinary lives. . . . [They] were people of different ages, class and ethnic backgrounds and educational histories" (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986, p. 4). As I spoke to these individuals, I realized from the very beginning that many had experienced the mas' culture from an early age in Trinidad and were quite knowledgeable about it. So I was not surprised when they chided me about my lack of knowledge on certain aspects of it or even tried to educate me. I choose to have them tell their stories in their own words, and to do as little as possible to change the dialogue and dialect because I wanted their voices to penetrate the consciousness and sensibilities of those who ventured to journey with us.

There are almost as many pictures as words in this thesis because Carnival is so colourful it beckons that its story be told with photographs. I decided to use photographs extensively throughout this thesis even though my review of the literature showed that its use in research has elicited acceptors and skeptics of this process (Becker, 1979). Skepticism is inherent because as the research suggests, I select scenes to photograph and select the photographs that support my point of view. This is indeed so, but as participant and observer this whole thesis is from my point of view and addresses "[t]he ethnographic self" (Coffey, 1999). "[T]he relationship between observer and observed has been blurred

and my analysis of members of my community resulted from interactional encounters and processes in which we are personally involved" (Coffey, 1999, p. 115). My thesis is an historical account of the members of my community and I honestly record, photograph and report so that the document can be a valid body of knowledge that can withstand the scrutiny by the members of my community and my peers.

Figure 17. Carnival is inclusive and adaptable to all occasions where a parade is appropriate. On this occasion the Cariwest group participated in the 1997 Grey Cup parade in Edmonton. The green and gold football standards are thematic for this occasion. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 18. The back view of the queen (background) and the king (foreground) along with floor members from the band "Fantasia 2001". Although the masqueraders were portraying a fantasy theme, the colours of red, green and gold were used in this band because they represented the colours of the flag of Grenada. Here the creator used these colours to signify historical identity. *Photograph by Anne Lambert in Edmonton, in 1998.*



Chapter 1

The Voyage

"The Yankees gone" (1956)

So When You bounce up Jean and Dinah
Rosita and Clementina
Round the corner posing
Bet your life is something they selling
And If You ketch them broken
You can get it all for nothing
Don't make a row
Since Yankees gone Sparrow take over now
(Slinger Francisco, Mighty Sparrow,
as cited by Rohlehr, 1998).[3]

My Story

At Home

I was born in Point Fortin, Trinidad and Tobago (see Figure 1), where I lived until I was eleven years old. At age eleven, my family and I moved to San Juan, and during my teenage years we moved to Valsayn Park, Trinidad. I attended schools in these areas during my most formative years (see Figures 19 & 20). Carnival was a very special event for my family and my parents introduced their children to it at an early age. My family related stories to us, younger ones, about my Aunt Clemmie[4] who had organized a "*Breakfast Shed*" for youngsters in the Curepe, St. Augustine and St. Joseph communities. (These towns are shown on map Figure 1). On Carnival Saturday Aunt Clemmie held her annual ***Kiddies Carnival*** for the young people and it was always well-attended. She was among the first to host this event in Curepe and my family never allowed me to forget it.

As a child I remember listening to the ***Dimanche Gras*** show on Carnival Sunday night. The show featured the ***Calypso Monarch*** as well as the ***Carnival King*** and ***Queen***

competitions and I would never go to bed until I learnt who the winners were. I also remember visiting my grand-mother's home at the corners of Scott Street and Eastern Main Road, St Augustine where I would hear my cousins and other members of the "Proud Rebels Steel Orchestra" who were under the house practising the ***road march***, the ***bomb*** and other tunes on their ***steel pans***.

As a child and teenager, I also attended ***J'ouvert***, ***Kiddies Carnivals*** and the ***"Parades of the bands"*** competitions at Marine Square and the Queens Park Savannah, Port of Spain, with my parents, my brothers, my sister, and any other family members whom we could squeeze into our powder blue Vauxhall motor-car. As always, I was fascinated by the costumes I saw. During J'ouvert which started at dawn on Carnival Monday morning I witnessed blue and red devils, ***Jab Jabs (Jab Molassi)*** (see Figure 21), ***Pierrot Grenades*** (see Figure 22), ***mud masqueraders*** (see Figure 23 & 24) and large ***old mas' bands*** (see Figure 25). These bands, through pun, wit and satire were able to embarrass and humiliate the authorities or give humorous spins to notable newspaper headlines.

On Carnival Monday afternoon and all day Tuesday I witnessed ***fancy sailors*** (see Figure 26), ***Midnight Robbers*** (see Figure 27 & 28), ***Amerindian Masqueraders*** (see Figures 29 & 30), ***Moko Jumbies*** (see Figure 31) and ***Burokeets*** (see Figure 32) all decorated with beautiful plumes, mirrors, beads, and other embellishments, and I paraded vicariously through these masqueraders. My most vivid memory was seeing George Bailey's *band* "*Somewhere in New Guinea*" coming through the Savannah at 4:00 p.m. on Carnival Tuesday. I was, as they say, "blown away" by the beautiful combination of hues of blues and greens, reds and yellows, on the plumed head pieces that fluttered in the afternoon breeze. Oh, what the glow of the setting Sun had done to this spectacular portrayal of Bailey's interpretation of some mythical place in South East Asia!

Figure 19. Pictured in front of my home in Valsayn Park, St Joseph and standing beside the family car, circa 1966. This is one of the upper middle class areas in Trinidad and Tobago. *Photograph by Esmond Walrond.*

Figure 20. In 1998, students at St. Georges College, Barataria, Trinidad & Tobago, were still wearing uniforms but this time the uniform is changed to accommodate religious affiliations and thus emphasized the multicultural aspect of the country. A Muslim student augments the school uniform by wearing a head covering as well as by concealing her legs. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 21. From the band *"East of Eden"* these ***Jab Jabs***, traditional to Carnival, were in the 1999 Cariwest parade. The blue and red devils were the "real thing". The "***Jab Molassi***" costume in this parade consisted of a decorated black tight and body suit. Sometimes in J'ouvert they appear coated with molasses or black grease. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 22. One of the traditional mas' characters in Trinidad and Tobago is ***Pierrot Grenades***. Here he is seen entertaining a crowd at the 2nd World Conference on Carnival. Notice that the costume is made from old strips of cloth and he is carrying his school-master's whip. The traditional Pierrot Grenade goes back to French masquerade. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 23. **Mud masqueraders** in J'ouvert in Port of Spain, Trinidad in 1998. Here the mud masquerader is seen with his container of mud that is used to smear other spectators, or re-coat himself and his other buddies. In 1998 when I was in Trinidad I found **mud masquerading** to be more popular than when I was a child. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 24. Another example of **mud mas'** in Port of Spain, Trinidad in 1998, here the masqueraders are coated in mud that is dyed red. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 25. **Mud masqueraders** (red or blue devils) from the 1998 Port-of-Spain **J'ouvert band** " I give Them D' Horn". Well endowed women play mas' with little inhibitions. Here we have a play on the word horn, which translated means "when the love of your life becomes involved with someone else" (Mendes, 1986, p. 69). J'ouvert bands use pun, parody and satire to poke fun at the authority figures. This group of women are poking fun at men. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 26. **Fancy sailors** are also traditional mas' and are meant to mimic the American sailors of WWII (see note 2). In the 1994 these sailors from Frank Lewis's band are dressed in the formal white sailor outfits and are seen on 124th Street, Edmonton. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 27. **Midnight Robbers** were also traditional mas'. Here, A robber takes time off to eat at the 2nd World Conference on Carnival that was held in Hartford, CO. in 1998. By painting his face this robber is using a technique that was once used by the indigenous Indians. In the Caribbean they painted their face with ***roucou*** so that they would appear fierce in battles. The combination of these two types of masking demonstrated the melding of the two cultures. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 28. The hallmarks of a good midnight robber are his large brimmed hat, his floor length cape, his mask and his "robber talk" or speech. The traditional mask is similar to the ones shown on the decorated float which appeared on the stage at the Queen's Park Savannah, Port of Spain in 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 29. The back view of the **Amerindian Masquerader's** costume is seen as he dances on stage at the Queen's Park Savannah in Port of Spain in 1998. The costume is made up with plumes and mirrors. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 30. The designer has incorporated a mask that is synonymous of African masking themes into this **Amerindian Masquerader's** costume. It is seen over the head of the masquerader and just below the red plumes as he masquerades on stage at the Queen's Park Savannah, Port of Spain, Trinidad, in 1998. The melding of the two themes in masking is yet another way of demonstrating how cultural symbols are combined in the Carnival. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

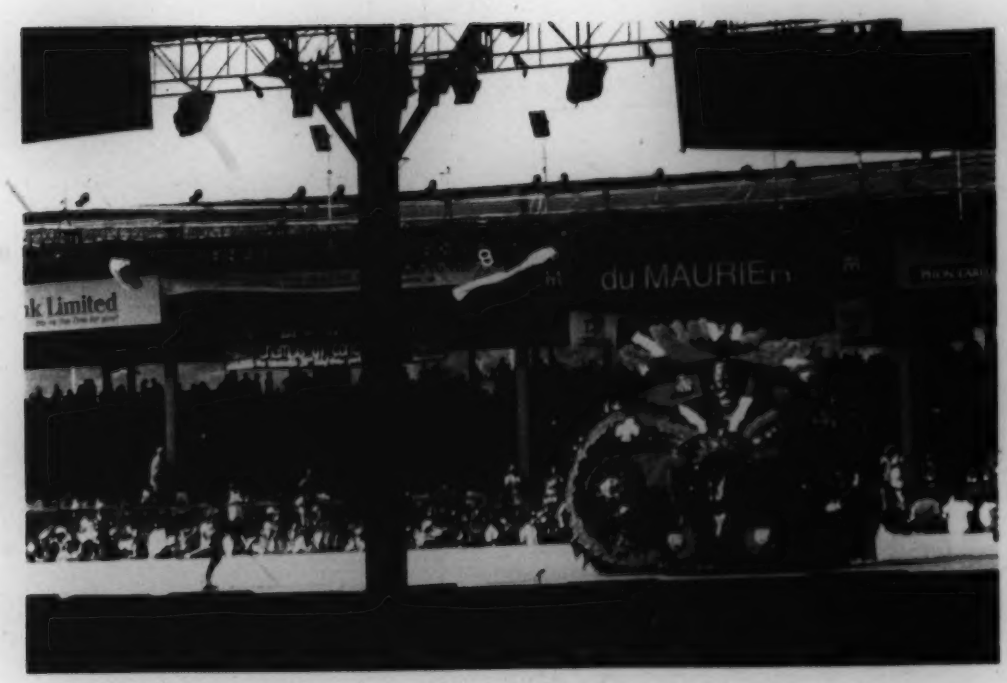


Figure 31. **Moko Jumbies** are very popular in Trinidad and Tobago as the art form has been revitalised. The schools teach students the art of walking on stilts and they perform during Carnival and at special events. This photograph is one of the many **Moko Jumbie** bands that I witnessed in Port-of-Spain in 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 32. ***Burokeets*** participate in the 1998 Kiddies Carnival parade in Port-of-Spain. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

My place of birth, Point Fortin, is an oilfield town similar to Fort McMurray, Alberta or any other oilfield town. My heritage is based on what I acquired from both parents whose families were migrants to Trinidad. Rohlehr (1990) gave a brief account of this migration trend that occurred between other West Indian islands and Trinidad and Tobago during the nineteenth century.

I remembered my mother saying that her ancestors came from French speaking Grenada. My mother's family settled in Arima, a staunchly Roman Catholic, Spanish and Carib area of Trinidad. Since my great grand mother died when I was very small my only knowledge of her was a photograph in which she is wearing a long garment with her head wrapped in a traditional African style (See Figure 33). This was probably similar to the clothes that were worn by the French Creole women in those days. From my grandmother I found out that ***French Patois*** was the only language spoken in their home. Prior to her school days, my mother spoke ***French Patois*** better than she spoke English. Her knowledge of Patois declined once she was at school as the nuns forbade the children from speaking their "Pala Wala" language in the school yard because they did not understand what the children were saying.

My father's family came from Barbados. On a 1988 trip to Barbados I visited the Barbados Museum at Garrison, Barbados and it was there that I came face to face with my father's background. The Barbados Museum collects, preserves and publishes information of the people of Barbados. What is nice about this museum is that it has a beautiful exhibit of the peoples who inhabited the island during the period of slavery. While on tour, I was able to look through examples of record books and noted the meticulously detailed documentary. My first impression was that these people kept very extensive records. I remembered seeing that their inventory list included all the animals, equipment and enslaved people that they possessed. I looked longingly at the names of the individuals just hoping that an African name would appear before me but that was not to happen. When I entered the map room I observed many interesting maps but focussed on a seventeenth century map that had many names inscribed on it. As I drew closer I realized that the names were in fact those of the families that occupied the island at that time. Curiously, I

decided to see if my family name was on the map. And sure enough I saw the name "Walrond" in six point lettering on this map. I called my family to see what I had discovered and as I stared at the map I continued to see even more Walronds. What was also interesting was that there was a bundle of cane or a windmill next to the name. These insignia denoted the occupation of the landowner. Make no mistake though, I know that what I discovered was probably the names of the people who enslaved my father's ancestors.

When I consulted the curator I was told that the map was a reproduction of an original which showed the property, ownership and the occupation of the people who lived in Barbados at that time. Moved with what I had experienced and seeking answers to the many questions that I now had, I spoke to my uncle about his father and my grandfather when I returned to Trinidad. My grandfather was an experienced sugarcane ***panboiler*** (a skilled person who is responsible for monitoring the sugar cane as it was boiled during the process of making sugar, molasses and rum). He moved with his family to Trinidad because a sugar plantation there needed someone with his expertise. I learnt that he also travelled to British Guiana (Guyana), Tobago and Barbados to train other ***panboilers***. All my father's siblings who had the aptitude were given opportunities to get an education or to learn music (See Figure 34). I remember visiting my grandmother's home and hammering away on the piano. My Uncle Randolph was a secondary school head master, one aunt was a telephone operator, another aunt a seamstress, my dad a pharmacist, and my Aunt Clemmie was honoured by Queen Elizabeth II for her contribution in the field of social work.

My father worked as a pharmacist for "Shell Trinidad" for about twenty-two years. During that time he worked in oilfield outposts such as Penal and Rio Claro where he was the only pharmacist in those areas (see Figure 1). At Point Fortin Hospital he was one of three but my father's ability to mingle and deal with everyone made him quite popular and respected in the community. Wherever my dad worked he always tried to help others who did not have opportunities to access proper health care and I recall being the beneficiary of their hospitality by having the freedom to harvest watermelons in their lagoons and

oranges from their plantations.

Because my father was a staff member at Shell Trinidad we had privileges like inexpensive company housing, a telephone and access to a private club. Shell Trinidad also sponsored a Kiddies Carnival and although we never played mas' we always attended the show which was held at the Shell Savannah Club.

My mother never told me much about her schooling but as I watched her at work both at home and later on in the family's pharmacy I marvelled at her tremendous business skill and knowledge. I always felt that she too could have been a pharmacist. It was my mother's brother who told me with pride that his sister, my mother, was the one who had gotten the opportunity to attend commercial school when he had to work at an early age to support the family. So my family was headed by an educated professional who was socially and culturally conscious of the activities that occurred around him and a mother who was a well mannered, very reserved, determined, educated, Catholic. Although my father was social, his activities seldom included my mother. She confined her activities to working around the house and later in the family pharmacy. With five children to care for she did not have the time nor the inclination to do any extra community work.

Figure 33. My maternal great grand-mother (seated), grand-mother (centre back) , mother (right), aunt (left front) and uncle(left back) are seen in this 1930s photograph. Photographer is unknown.

Figure 34. My paternal grand-mother (back left), aunt (centre back), father (right back) and uncle (seated) are seen in this photograph. The photograph was probably taken in 1930s. Photographer is unknown.

Leaving Trinidad: Coming to Canada

I left Trinidad in 1968 to study Statistics and Economics at Sir George Williams University, Montreal. I studied, got married, had two girls and graduated from University by the time my family and I left Montreal for Cape Breton, Nova Scotia in 1975. While in Montreal I was aware of the ***Caribana*** Festival in Toronto and viewed Mas' on the Parkway in Brooklyn once when I spent the Summer in New York. To me these were mere imitations of what I had known and I was not motivated to get involved. I always felt that some day I would return to the islands and continue with my Trinidad Carnival experience.

My family and I moved to Edmonton, Alberta in 1978. And, when Cecil George, Edmonton's popular pan leader of "***Trincan Steel Orchestra***" decided to take the step to formally introduce Trinidad-style Carnival to the city in 1984, I once again was aware of it but decided I still would not participate. By 1990 the pressure for me to participate had increased. At this time I was operating a small business and one of my clients, a Trinidadian, kept telling me that I had to play mas'. In fact he insisted that I play mas'. I gave him the money for the costume, found out where to pick up the costume, donned my costume on the day of the parade and jumped up. Boy, did I ever jump up on the streets! In fact I was just alarmed and pleasantly surprised by what I had experienced. I knew that I was going to do it again. And this was the first time I had ever played *mas*'!

The Realization

From the beginning of my involvement in the ***Cariwest*** parade however, I was always reflecting on why the community thought it necessary to put on this parade. This questioning arose once I observed the group's willingness to get involved and play mas'. What was also amazing to me was the fact that once I got involved in the Cariwest Carnival parade I began to look at the phenomenon differently. Sure we were all prepared to don a costume and dance on the streets of Edmonton but the parade also succeeded in

getting many people, especially those of Caribbean heritage, together to enjoy the weekend celebration.

My first involvement in the process was with playing mas' in one of Edmonton's bands - Mas' Productions. The first part of the process was to find out what costume I would wear. I went to a Millwoods community hall one Sunday afternoon during the Winter of 1992 to see the costumes that were presented and to choose one to wear for the parade.

Going to the *mas' camp* was intriguing in itself as I did not know most of the people, nor what to expect. When I got to the Community Hall in Millwoods, an Edmonton subdivision, I could not detect if anything was happening because the doors were closed as the weather was cold outside. On opening the door I was immediately engulfed in a party atmosphere. A video on Trinidad Carnival was being shown on the television, there was Caribbean calypso and Soca music playing, the aroma of Trinidad style cuisine was all over and everyone was excitedly hanging around the costumes. Once they saw me they welcomed me enthusiastically. As I got in I judged the costumes that were on the mannequins and on the walls, chose the section that I wanted to play with, then tried on the appropriate size for fit. I decided on a white outfit with blue and gold trim from the band "Land of the Pharaohs" (see Figure 35). Once this was done it was time to register to play in the band and pay for my costume. After completing the transaction I stayed around to enjoy the music and the food. Everyone involved, appeared quite up-beat about the band that they were going to present to the public later that year. They were very encouraging and assured me that I would be sure to have a good time. I was very impressed by their level of organization, the keen commitment of the members and the amount of preparation that was done for the ***band launching***.

At a ***band launching*** the costumes that the "***floor members***" (Alleyne-Dettmers, 1993, p. 319) (see Figure 36) would wear are presented to the public. The band launching is a dance or party that is hosted to attract new members and encourage the early registration of existing members. The event publicly announced the start of the band's Carnival preparations even though in actuality, the mas' maker may have already started to

build the large costumes. The musical band or disc jockey that accompanies the masquerade band on the street will usually play at the band launching party. Music is an important component of the masquerade band and sometimes masqueraders decide to play mas' with the band that provides the music they like to ***jump up*** to. There was also a strong sense that the event was a Caribbean affair; people sat around and indulged in a lot of "ol' talking and liming". When Trinidadians get together it is always for a lime, that is, to sit around and make fun, or joke around and in Edmonton, to reminisce about old times in the home country. My impressions of a band launching are shared by this interviewee who gave her impression of a band launching party in which she participated.

CCF5: *"Band launching usually happens a couple of months before the actual Carnival. . . . If our band has more than one or two sections we will put out, . . . we will make, from top to bottom of the male and female costumes for each* ***section****. And then we throw a big party, which is the whole reason behind it [the band launching] is a party. The costumes are there too, but then we need an excuse to have a party. And we usually have it organized well enough, to say, okay you know, here is a list, you tell me what costume you want and you will have it before you go on the parade. And the people pay for the registration [the band's membership fee] and, they pay for their costume at that time. Or, they come and they look to see. And there are some people who go to all the band launchings, costume launchings in the city. They will come to one first, and then they will go to the second one and whatever costume they like better is the band they will play with."*

As a registered band member I could have visited the mas' camp to hang around or lime or to sew costumes but I did not. A few days before the parade I was contacted to come down to the camp for my costume and to bring down a pair of old sneakers so that they could be sprayed gold. The entire costume had to be colour coordinated because it improved the appearance of the band as a whole. When I interviewed a traditionalist mas' maker in Trinidad he had a lot to say on the issue of the shoes that the masqueraders now wear.

CTM21: Yes, That aspect of carnival has changed because as people so rightly say, our Carnival is now becoming a Rio type carnival. They have those girls with a little bikini and some little something in the front and back. No longer do people make shoes. It's just a pair of sneakers. When you look at a masquerader bedecked in the full regalia of a costume and sneakers on his foot he looks unfinished. It lacks that total finish in your costume. In the olden days men would go to the cobblers [to get their shoes made] (see Figures 37 & 38). Men would play barbarian. You became one with your costume, you think that way, you act that way and it was more fun. Even with the sections. In those days people were more involved with their costumes.

The Mas Productions group did make an effort to maintain the traditionalist habit of having colour coordinated footwear. However I believe that some aspects were indeed harder to maintain because from the traditionalist standpoint I should have helped to embellish my costume.

On the day of the parade everyone came dressed and ready to play mas'. However I soon found out that there was a method to all this fun and festivity. Once there, we were given our ***standards*** (See Figure 39) and someone walked around applied extra make-up and checked to see if we were properly "dressed". She glued or pinned into place the parts that were falling off and once this was completed we were ready for the next step. One of the marshals then instructed us to get into our sections. We were arranged according to height and colour coordinated. Once organized we were instructed on how we should move. As I said, playing mas' here is not just a matter of taking to the streets to have a good time. We were about eighty people strong, and this is considered quite a small group. I was standing next to another female and as we spoke I found out that she was originally from Venezuela. She indicated that she was playing mas' in Edmonton for the first time and that she had won her costume at one of Mas Productions' dances. We joked and danced all through the parade. This was also the first time that I was playing mas' and I was surprised that we were instructed as to how we should move. The band's chief marshal wanted to create volume so we were told to move in circular motions as we danced. We danced to the music, ***jumping up*** and ***wining***, or gyrating the hips with

rhythmic motions in time with the music. We were certainly enjoying the moment and demonstrated this by exuberating kinetic energy upward rather than forward. The masqueraders' standards fluttered and waved in the wind with every ***jump up and wine***. In this way the standards were also used to enhance and contribute to this upward thrust. While we went through this ritualistic dance I intermittently reflected on the process and asked myself what motivated us to behave the way we did. This event was definitely very special to those who celebrated it. What else would account for such a public expression of dance and ***bacchanal***? The most fascinating aspect of the whole affair was the way we felt about donning a costume and celebrating in public. I began to think that my people were very bold-faced and full of gall. It was one thing to make costumes and participate in the Klondike Days parade but it was an entirely different matter to expect to put on a community parade of this nature and encourage others to get involved. The belief that during Carnival time the streets of the nation are your domain is acceptable in Trinidad and Tobago where a Carnival culture exists but certainly not here in Edmonton.

Many West Indians and others are challenged to understand the extent to which the spirit of Carnival possesses many Trinidadians. They marvel at our belief in the "Divine right" to get into the Carnival spirit. Carnival is a fête (festival) for the streets and if it is to be experienced then, that was the only way to enjoy it. This observation was expressed by a Jamaican that I interviewed.

J: I am glad that you mentioned embarrassment. How do you see Trinidadians who come out and say this is me and this is what I am about?

CCF11 I admire the Trinidadians for it [their attitude]. Am, to tell you the truth, it does not matter who you are in Trinidad, as I have seen here when it comes to going down the street to play mas' . . . they are just enjoying what is there. . . . it is almost their birth right.

I did not play mas' in 1993 and 1994 but became more active in the WCDA-Cariwest. I attended their annual general meetings and even audited their books. The general meetings were very well attended, averaging about forty members. These meetings revealed that many members were passionate about the way the executive ran the

association. Each group -- the calypsonians, mas' makers and steelband players all tried to make sure that their groups were well represented on the boards and that the WCDA-Cariwest board reflected their ideas when they planned the festivals. There was also the insistence that the board be financially accountable to the members.

When I visited the WCDA-Cariwest office I observed that the organization was run by the board of directors. They and a few volunteers carried out the administrative duties. During the summer months when the office was at its busiest, the organization hired summer staff.

In 1993 the parade was moved from Millwoods to 124th Street in the West Central end of Edmonton. By moving the parade to this area, the organizers felt that they would achieve more exposure for the event. Indeed that was achieved but half of the route was through a very residential area. The Member of Parliament for the area, Anne McLellan was on hand to welcome the parade to the area and even handed out the trophies at the end of the parade (see Figure 40).

The year 1993 was also very memorable for me because my cousins came from Winnipeg to witness the parade. Even though they had been living in Winnipeg for some time, I had not seen them since I left Trinidad in 1968. They shared with me their Winnipeg Carnival experiences and I pointed out that a steelband and masqueraders had come from Winnipeg to participate in the parade that year.

This brings me to another feature of Edmonton's Carnival parade. Edmonton does not have the number of dedicated mas makers to sustain a sizable parade. At best there may be three genuine mas' camps here capable of producing bands that would have a king, queen and major individuals. These are the criteria for a viable band. So the organization has resolved this problem by inviting bands from other cities to participate. Therefore bands from Calgary, Vancouver, Winnipeg and possibly Fort McMurray have come to Edmonton to participate in the Cariwest parade. Reciprocally, the bands in Edmonton also travel to parade in these cities.

As a spectator I welcomed the opportunity to see the out-of-town bands because it meant that I saw more mas'. However I remembered that after I had signed up to play

mas' for the first time, I did not quite go along with the idea of going to Winnipeg to play mas'. It was only after that I realized that many of the masqueraders use their vacation to go to other places to play mas'. It was also some time before I understood that by establishing these opportunities for carnival linkages the various carnival groups provided reasons for families to visit each other during the summer months.

At the July, 1995 Canadian Home Economics Association (CHEA) conference at West Edmonton Mall, Edmonton, Anne Lambert spoke about the dynamics of cultural traditions. She defined rituals to include those events that we perform routinely and at one point during her presentation she invited the audience to mention some of the traditions that the family celebrates. The invitation allowed every one to reflect on the significance of rituals to the everyday existence of individuals. I also reflected on the definition and concluded that all celebrations including carnival and its off shoots were rituals.

Figure 35. Ancient Egyptians in trousers! I (immediately behind the asp), portrayed an Egyptian in the band "Land of the Pharaohs" by Mas Productions in 1992 in Millwoods, Edmonton. Sometimes artistic liberties are taken when costumes are designed. *Photograph by Michael A. Patterson.*

Figure 36. Schematic diagram of Carnival Mas' band Structure. Adapted from a diagram by Alleyne-Dettmers' (1993).

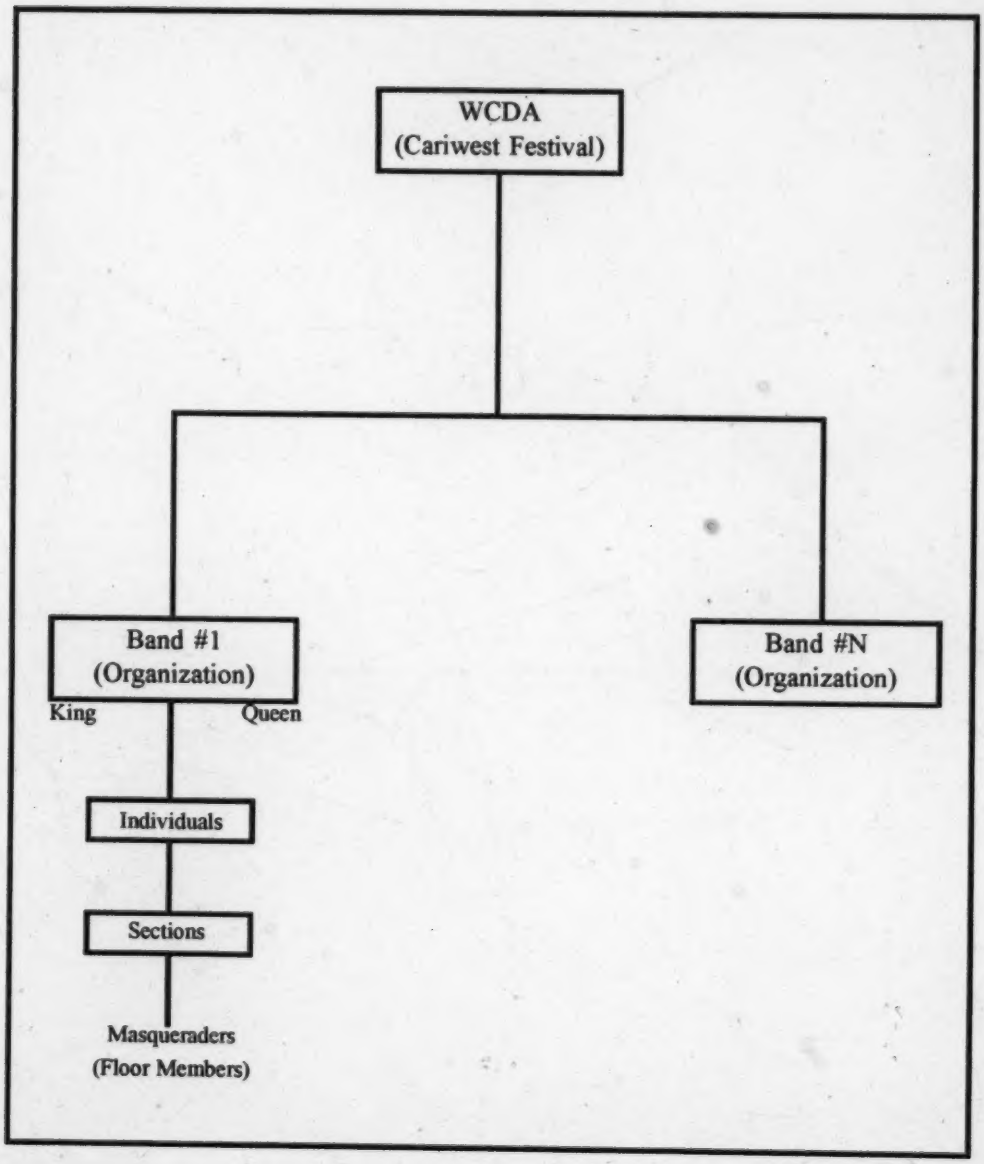


Figure 37. Clowning around with footwear that is in keeping with the theme is important in costuming. These embellished shoes depict are part of this clown's costume. From T & T Organettes band in 1997. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 38. Close-up view of footwear. From T & T Organettes band in 1997. *Photograph by A. Lambert.*

Figure 39. Standards are important aesthetic elements in many Mas' bands. Sometimes they are used as visual cues about the theme of the entire band or section of the band. In 1998 this band by the group "Hot Sands" used standards of blue wind socks to signify a tropical theme. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 40. In 1993 Member of Parliament for Edmonton West, Anne McLellan (left) welcomes the Cariwest Festival to her constituency by handing out the trophy to the Queen of the Bands winner A. Hunt (right). (See costume in Figure 9). *Photograph reprinted with permission from WCDA.*

My Quest

"This is me! The real me!
The one that I am proud to be!"

The CHEA (Canadian Home Economics Association) conference discussions helped me to reflect on themes of cultural continuance and cultural transmittance. My first impressions were that the attributes of dress and costuming, the public display and kinetic movement were culturally important. Initially, I felt that I could gain some insights into the phenomenon by getting a small group together to discuss the meaning of dress as it pertained to the cultural relevance of the festival.

The group met at my home in November, 1995 to view a small section of a video clip about Trinidad Carnival, look at some pictures of the Cariwest Carnival and talk about their Carnival experience. Four adults (three females and one male), six youths (five females and one male) and I participated in the discussion which lasted about two hours. Four of the youths were pre teenagers (three females and one male) while the other two were female teenagers. We watched a small segment of the Trinidad masquerade band "Swan Lake" by Wayne Berkeley, a noted Trinidad mas' producer. The discussions started even before the television was switched off and it appeared that most wished to share their opinions.

Some of the younger participants said that although they had played mas' in the past they had not done so lately. They spoke enthusiastically about their involvement and some said that when they played mas' or participated in the Klondike Days parade their friends would see them on the television and tell them about it. It seems that their parents were not as actively involved in the parade as they once were. Two of the three children had spoken to their friends about the parade. They liked playing mas' and wanted to continue doing so. The female teenager (see Figure 41) who had played mas' previously said that the first time her Caucasian friend saw her on television she was surprised to later learn that the Cariwest parade existed and that she played mas' in it. It seems that this young participant had not told her friend that on one day in the summer she wore a

costume and paraded on the streets. To this young participant the Cariwest parade was just an occasion that her family celebrated. As I spoke to the teenager who had played mas', I felt that some sort of discomfort resonated between her and the rest of the group. She brought her friend along to participate in the discussion but when I asked her friend if she had ever been to the parade her reply was no.

The adults were excited about the event and willingly shared their Carnival experiences with their co-workers and friends. The parent of the teenager that I wrote about earlier said that she tells many of the people in her work place about the event every year and sometimes tries to get her colleagues to play mas'. She also had the opportunity to visit Trinidad twice for the Carnival celebrations there, and was moved by the experience. She said that she enjoys playing mas' so much that she did not foresee a time when she would not do so. The male adult participant also shared that he encourages many non-Caribbean individuals to play mas and he stressed that he used every opportunity to promote the parade to community groups. While the adults agreed that it was necessary to participate in the Klondike Days[5] parade in order to gain overall community support and acceptance, they felt that both parades were very different. For instance, they all agreed that during the Klondike Days parade participants were expected to march at a quick pace while in the Cariwest parade the objective was to display and dance the costume to the music. The adults felt that the Cariwest parade allowed the masqueraders dance and ***chip*** down the streets while interacting and jesting with the spectators.

Some felt that it was very important to have the Cariwest event even if the group also participated in other parades. In their opinion, during the community event, as one member said "we have the freedom to "do we own thing", to dance as we like, and to get together as a community in a public space". They felt that it was important that others see that they enjoyed having fun, and that it was alright to relax and have fun. Play is an important aspect of Carnival and during the event it provided opportunities for the young generation to know something about the culture of the Caribbean. This exposure helps them to understand some of the older generation's survival mechanisms. During the

Cariwest weekend many families, friends and acquaintances got together to share experiences, food and drinks as the parade always ended with a picnic in the square on Saturday. On Sunday the partying continued at the "**Block-a-Rama** Party", also held in the square.

As we talked and reminisced about the Carnival experience and expression that occurred, I remembered something that I had noticed and posed my observations to the group. I said that I recognized that there were more females than males wearing costumes and actually participating in the parade. This statement lead to a contentious discussion. One observation was that men here are reluctant to play mas' because it involves some amount of relaxation of inhibitions. They said that this phenomenon is also observed in Trinidad and Tobago but no one could share any particular reason why it was also occurring in Edmonton. One female said that some women here were self assured and confident and hence were not ashamed to wear a costume and dance in the street. They often refer to the experience as one that is very liberating. The only other adult male in the discussion felt that West Indian women usually felt responsible for transmitting the family's culture and they understood the importance of family and community gatherings. He believes that the Cariwest festival is one way of fostering the sense of Caribbean community in Edmonton.

Although the issues that arose from the discussions were different from the ones I had originally conceived, my overall intent for having the discussion was achieved as I received a wide variety of information from the discussion. The very young spoke enthusiastically about participating in the parade while the older teenager who usually played individual mas' seemed no longer interested in doing so. There were reasons why female participation is higher and this should be examined. The group felt the Cariwest Carnival provided them with an opportunity to expose their children, their family, friends, acquaintances and other Canadians to some aspect of their culture.

It was evident that when the group discussed the event other layers of meaning surfaced. They did not isolate the costumes but instead viewed the festival in its broadest terms. For example, the importance of transferring the meaning of the experience and

cultural continuance were emphasized. It was also important that a forum be provided for this expression. As well, it was important that these individuals express themselves in terms of how they perceived "self" with no outside moulding or interference. The discussion left me feeling that this level of freedom of expression was important to counteract the moulding and "pigeon-holing" that is experienced in the greater community. It was as if they were saying "love me or not , this is the other me, the real me, the one that I am proud to be".

Other issues arose when I met with another family. This was a family that consisted of a husband and wife, originally from the Caribbean, children who range in age from teenager to young adults and grand-children who were under ten years of age. In this family the female adult and grand children play mas. Even though the people from the Caribbean see the event as being important to helping their children know something about where the parents came from they lament the fact that their children no longer play mas'. What is important though is that both generations encourage the young ones to participate.

Most of the people with whom I spoke had very few pictures or videos of the event. Some felt that it was more important to participate. Two grand-parents had the costumes of the grand-children intact and neatly preserved but had no pictures to show me of the grand-children in the costumes.

After collecting this information I felt that there was sufficient material and community interest to do the research in this community. I felt that many individuals and the Cariwest Board supported my project and I was encouraged to continue with the investigation. My initial plan was to document a complete cycle of the Carnival process for a Carnival band and to contact as many individuals as possible in the community to find out what this festival means to them.

In 1996 I got the urge to play mas' again and once again I played with Mas Productions who that year produced the band *"Crystals and Lights"*. I was even more pleased with my experience and even more serious about conducting my research about the phenomenon. I sensed the event was becoming even more popular and I felt that since

the individuals who were responsible for organizing the Carnival were still actively involved in it that the time was appropriate for doing my research. I also had gone through many changes and I was now viewing the phenomenon through more conscious lenses. The revelations have allowed me to come to terms with what my responsibility is to my culture, my community, my Aunt Clemmie, other relatives, and my immediate family. My knowledge of human ecology and textiles, clothing and culture (Sontag & Bubolz, 1988; Kilsdonk, 1983; Lynch, Detzner & Eicher, 1996) inspired me to research the phenomenon from the perspectives of those disciplines.

Although I did not play mas in 1997 I used the 1997 Carnival event as an opportunity to reflect on how I should conduct my research. At that time I had just completed my first year in the master's program and had studied some articles on "ways of knowing". Pratt (1986), Taylor (1986) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) wrote that the feminist perspective identifies many other ways of seeking and acquiring knowledge. Pratt (1986) wrote that the objective should be to form relationships between knowledge that exists both within and outside the academy. Initially, I felt uncomfortable working with qualitative data and the ensuing analysis of that data. I therefore had to understand that "there are no clear lines of demarcation between gathering, recording and analysing qualitative data [and that] these three processes are intertwined in qualitative research" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 241).

Secondly, I was challenged to determine how I should position myself in the research. I purposely decided not to play mas' in 1997 and instead choose to walk with the bands, take lots of pictures and question youngsters and older individuals about their immediate experiences. This was a very difficult assignment to accomplish. First of all, even though the members of the association knew that I was there to do research, one committee member did not hesitate to ask me to be a marshal for the parade. I agreed because I believed that it allowed me to get on the streets with the bands and I was indeed closer to the masqueraders. The main drawback was that I was also nearer to the music and excitement of the dancing masqueraders. It was not long before I too, was jumping up as well. From time to time I had to actually resist the temptation to participate as I had

done in the past. It was difficult for me to behave in that manner because I was forcing myself to behave unnaturally in this setting. The experience gained by my limited participation in the 1997 parade was sufficient for me to understand the difficulties that I should expect to encounter while I did research in my community.

Figure 41. In 1996, this junior queen portrays "Celestial Monarch" in the Band "Signs of the Zodiac" by Mas Productions . *Photograph reprinted with permission from WCDA.*

Chapter 2

"Liming and Ol' Talking"

My Role

I conducted informal interviews with some masqueraders and members of the organizing association to determine their views about the Cariwest events. I also spoke to academics about my intent to study the Cariwest Carnival event, read articles on material culture, and finally resolved that I should research if cultural transmittance occurs during the costume-making sessions in the mas' camps, and during the parade on the streets in Edmonton.

I decided that I would do qualitative research based on the writings of Morse, (1994); Morse and Field, (1995); and Denzin and Lincoln, (1994) . This type of research provided me with rich descriptions of my compatriots' life histories as we reflected on what meanings were created when we celebrated this Carnival event. Ethnographic research provided descriptive and visual documentation of the settings where the costumes were made and paraded. Through my research I gave communal voice to this body of knowledge. My research will provide valuable cultural knowledge about members of the Caribbean community who live in Edmonton. The research could be an educational tool for teachers in heterogeneous communities. Recommendations based on my findings will be useful guidelines for the organization when future policies are formulated.

I position myself within the 'observational participant' and 'participatory observer' continuum. Palys (1992) states that "the title 'observational participant' suggests that the primary role is that of 'participant' although this person has 'observational' motives [and] that of 'participatory observer' places more emphasis on the 'observer' than the 'participant' role" (pp. 208-210).

I had to devise a method to differentiate my participants. Each participant in this study was given an alpha-numeric code. All the research informants were carnival

participants so I did not have a code for non-participant. The codes were as follows:

- The first alphabet code, "C", indicated that the individual was a Carnival participant.
- The second alphabet code denoted that the individual was a participant during the research period. "C" was used to denote Canada and "T", to denote Trinidad.
- "Y" signified youths but adults were not identified.
- "M" or "F" were gender designations and the numeric value identified the order in which the individual was interviewed.

After my interviews and video recording sessions I reviewed my notes and videotaping and tried to transcribe the interviews within seventy-two hours as it was easier to understand the colloquialism then. This was not always possible especially at the peak of the festival season. My prompt reviews helped to direct my actions in subsequent interviews.

Once the transcribing was completed I coded the data with the aid of NUD*IST 4© (Richards, 1997). According to Richards (1990) qualitative analysis allows the researchers to investigate "how ideas fit together in people's accounts and behaviour, the range or meaning put on them, the relationship between ideas and actions, and the processes by which people remake ideology" (p. xii). Through this analysis I was able to identify "recurring themes" and "related ideas" which Richards defines as "key words" (Richards, 1990)). As the analysis continued it was necessary to group these key words into "core categories" and design a model with a hierarchal system. I then used these core categories as subject headings and key words and phrases as sub-headings to the core categories.

Community Research

Community Reaction to My Research In Edmonton

My approach to doing this research was to first speak to the President of the

Cariwest Association about my intentions to do research in Edmonton's Caribbean Carnival community. He was quite receptive about the idea and offered me access to the association's documents and pictures that the association had accumulated along with his personal endorsement of my project.

Some time had elapsed between when I first spoke to him about my research and when I was ready to commence doing my interviews in the community. There was now a new president and administration in charge so I had to resubmit my request for permission to do the research. This time I was advised to make a formal presentation to the board. This was done and the board voted to support my research. After waiting for some time for a formal letter and not receiving one I approached the past president about my concerns and he provided me with the necessary document dated February 9, 1998 (Appendix I).

This process proved to be more symbolic than substantive and was only a first step towards gaining entry into the ***mas' camps***. At every level of my investigation I still had to meet the principle mas' leader from the individual masquerade bands to gain permission to interview their group.

I felt uncomfortable and unsure about my new role in the community. How would I be perceived? I had to do much soul searching about how I should conduct the interview because I did not want to give the impression that I was a neophyte. One person suggested that I visit community establishments where I could meet individuals from the Caribbean who would be able to inform my inquiry. I visited a facility a few times but soon questioned why I was there because I realized that I would have to spend a considerable amount of time there before I met someone who could really contribute to the research. I would no doubt meet some members of the community there but I felt that I stood a better chance of meeting most of my informants if I were to telephone them and make an appointment to meet them either at their homes or at a convenient location.

My observation was that as a researcher, once I told any one in the community about my research aspirations I was immediately drawn into a conversation and soon found out that many had their own stories to tell. Many also had very up-to-date

information about Carnival in Trinidad. Thus after some informal discussions with former Trinidadians and Tobagonians who had recently been back there for the Carnival festivities, I decided that my knowledge about the current Carnival was out-dated. I therefore decided to go to Trinidad to do some field work during the Carnival season.

Doing Research in the Mecca of Carnival: Trinidad & Tobago

At the Port of Spain Public Library

Any place in Trinidad is excellent for researching the phenomenon of Carnival. The event is experienced by everyone on the island so they would have stories to tell. One such place was the public library. The librarian at the Heritage library recommended that I look at two books which had excellent accounts of the history of Carnival. After reviewing these two books, Besson's "Trinidad Carnival: A republication of the Caribbean Quarterly Trinidad Carnival issue" and Crowley's "Carnival, canboulay and calypso", I felt that I should have them for a more in depth analysis. When I returned the books to the Librarian I inquired about the cost to copy a few pages. He said that I would be better off purchasing the book. I thought that it was a reasonable suggestion as photocopies cost $TT 1.00 (US 0.25¢) per page and one book in particular cost about $TT 20.00 ($US 4.00). I decided to find out where I could purchase these two works and was directed to a bookstore on Frederick Street, Port-of-Spain. I immediately left the library and headed for the recommended book store. This place was easy to find. I purchased about four books including the two that I intended to buy and returned to the Children's section of the public library to await my ride to the suburbs.

As I waited for my ride at the library's entrance for one hour I had enough time to look around the library. As I looked around, I was drawn to a mural which depicted characters from nursery rhymes and folktales. Next to this mural were some Carnival captions and figures which caught my eyes and forced me to take a closer look. I soon realized that most of the posters focussed on Carnival. The first had a caption "Ole Time

Carnival", the second "Peter Minshall and Mas'", another the third "Women in Mas'". I saw a worker doing some art work about Carnival and I asked her about the posters that she was making. She said that she'd be putting them up the next day. I then tried to get her to be more explicit about her work but she told me that the posters were being done because her boss who was the librarian for the children's section asked her to make them. She then said that if I wanted to get information about the Carnival I could meet with her boss and subsequently she introduced me to the children's librarian, Annette Wallace who was quite pleasant and arranged for an interview on Friday 20th February, 1998.

I spent two hours in the library on Friday and videotaped our conversation. The librarian was glad for the exposure and wanted me to send her a copy of the tape. She said that she would like to add my Carnival interview to the library because there is little information of that nature there.

Like any other library it is very busy, especially after school. Annette said that as librarian she is responsible for providing information and also keeping abreast of what the community needs. Carnival and its elements, calypso, steelband and mas' (masquerade) are covered in the school's curriculum. Her programs in the library reflect this direction. For example what she has done in the library is to separate the different themes and focus on one every year. She said that in the past when the young library patrons were asked to dress dolls for a competition she found that the boys were less likely to participate. Therefore in 1995 she decided to call the exercise a "Carnival costumed figures Competition" and found that more boys participated then. Approximately sixty entries were judged for originality, colour and workmanship in the individual and pair categories. This year the program was based on a calypso competition, where the students composed and sang their own composition.

Before I left, Annette pointed out a wall with a large map of the world. On the map there were pins indicating the different places in the world where Carnival is held now. I added Edmonton to the list and was actually impressed that the users of the library were being made aware of the cultural activities of the diaspora communities.

Carnival Is Youth Involvement

The Youth in Trinidad and Tobago participate in all aspects of Carnival. There are youth calypso competition, Carnival performances at schools and many kiddies Carnivals.

Youth calypso competition is now part of the calypso activities that occurs in Trinidad. This did not happen when I was attending school there in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1998 the youth Calypso Monarch competition was won by thirteen year old Karene Asche whose calypso's theme focussed on one of Trinidad's social problems. "Since you've been gone" highlighted the plight of a single mother who is left to raise her family. This social commentary's verse ends with the statement:

"A strong male figure
this family lacks,
Please tell me Dad,
When you're coming back." (Asche, 1998)

A visit to my high school crystallized for me some of the changes that have taken place in Trinidad. As a child I participated in Carnival but never through my school. True, everyone was aware of it and we spoke about it at school but that was it. Today it is different. Carnival is also part of the school's activity. Students at my high school, St George's College, Barataria, were allowed to come to school in costume and sport's wear on the Friday before Carnival. I visited the school on the Thursday before Carnival to talk to the students about my research. While I was there I was invited to attend the school assembly. Leila Narine, the school's principal and a former colleague of mine, got the students together to remind them that the Carnival parade and dance was on Friday. She also reminded them that those who wanted to wear a costume could do so but under no circumstance were they to wear any clothing where their mid section was exposed. She went on to say that anyone who came to school in that type of attire would be sent home! I did not quite understand the significance of that statement then, but I could not help but wonder at the changes that had taken place. My school, like others of that calibre was very straight-laced and conservative with the usual strict uniform. I could not help but believe

that this phenomenon was occurring at all other schools.

Today the ***Kiddies Carnivals*** have expanded, to include street parades in addition to those held at community venues and public parks. The children's Carnival competitions start about two to three weeks before the actual Carnival Sunday. These parades are held at many different venues through out the country, the largest being in Port of Spain. In 1998 I witnessed a parade which lasted roughly six hours and covered a route of about twenty-five kilometres. This type of street parade was not held in years gone by. In the past, the major event was the Red Cross ***Kiddies Carnival*** which was confined to the Queens Park Savannah venue.

Young people also play the steel pan in large numbers and from a very early age. They also play along side the adults in the steelbands. When I attended the panorama steelband finals at the Savannah, I noticed that every band had both young boys as well as young girls.

Carnival Is Female Involvement

Playing mas' once considered almost exclusively in the domain of males is increasingly being dominated by females even though many men still actively participate especially at the administrative level. My first evidence of the focus of females in Carnival occurred when I noticed a presentation at the library dedicated to notable women in Carnival. This display showed the history of female participation in Carnival dating back to the ***jamette*** characters or street women. There may be several reasons for this change. The first is due in part to the sexual revolution. The emergence of the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s somehow gave women new freedom. This manifests itself in Trinidad where more females than males are graduating with Engineering Degrees, and pursuing programs in the workforce that ensure advancement, and this is so despite the fact that most may be single parents. One government resource worker said that women in the workforce were more apt to sign up to do extra courses to upgrade themselves than men (D. Skerette, personal communication, March 14, 1998). Women are also managing

their own financial resources. Government offices, banks, schools, hospitals, and private industry employ a large percentage of women. Consequently with this economic and social liberation, women feel that they can compete with men in any forum.

A noted researcher on calypso, Gordon Rohlehr suggests that Carnival has always been the "stage of contestation" where the perceived lesser class would pursue the perceived higher class to let them in. He cites for example the Blacks who competed for entrance in the 19th and early 20th century and according to him in the 1960s the females also pursued the same course. He says that today the traditional East Indians are undergoing similar experiences. On the lighter side, he described the cyclical phenomenon where females go to the gymnasiums and sport's tracks after Christmas to loose their excess weight and tone up. By Carnival, they are toned and tanned and according to Rohlehr dare anyone to ask them to wear much clothing. Thus the phenomenon of, what is referred to in Trinidad as, "Bikini Mas'". Ms. Narine's statement was now beginning to make sense.

In Trinidad I observed masquerade bands with some 7,000 people, the majority of whom were female, playing mas'. And, as expected they were all scantily clad. Two strikingly unrelated phenomena are occurring here. First, with more than 7000 people playing in one band, one does not have to contemplate too long before one comes to the conclusion that Carnival is big business. The average price for the sequined bikini is $900.00 TT or $150.00 US (see Figure 42). Second, with so many females wishing to play mas', the large bands had shifted their focus and now design costumes predominantly for females. At one mas camp, I noticed that there were very few sections designed for males. On Carnival Tuesday, Michael Headley's band Poison with approximately 7,000 individuals, took about two hours to cross the stage, had several sections devoted to women but fewer than five sections allocated to men. These bands usually have more than forty sections.

Afong, the chairperson of the National Band Leaders Association also supports Rohlehr's statement but says that the high cost of materials has lead mas' makers to resort to this Rio' style mas'. On the other hand, many traditional band leaders like

Minshall, Jason Griffith and Lovelace have resisted this move and continue to express their art with designs that incorporate reasonable amounts of fabric. These bands are very popular with older women.

CTM21: These days you find that the bands are into some type of fantasy type of mas'. So you just take something out of a comic book and mix it with something else and you come up with some type of costume. Well you find before when you were playing historic mas', you have to research it. If you were playing Roman you can't be looking like a Greek. Well you had to look like a Roman. I remember in those days when you were playing Roman mas' and Greek mas' you had to wear copper. Men used to beat chest plates, and [make] shin guards and helmet, that type of thing. Now-a-days is just cardboard going down with all kinds of pretty cloth covering it and all kinds of situations. I more than appreciate the olden days of Carnival where things used to be more authentic than to-day. The love that I have for that era of Carnival has stayed with me and I wish [that] that time would come back. . . .

Figure 42: Female masqueraders head off to meet their band in St James, Trinidad in 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 43. "Saga boy and Saga girl" costumed individuals from the band ***"Botay"***. The female's costume emphasizes the tendency to reveal "all". This couple is one of many who travel back to Trinidad and Tobago from the United States annually to participate in Carnival. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 44. "Strictly No Audio or Video Recording Allowed" as seen at the Queens Park Savannah, Port of Spain, Trinidad in 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

"Strictly No Audio or Video Recording Allowed"

Although I arrived in Trinidad on February 14, 1998, eight days before the Carnival weekend, in hind sight I should have gotten there about eight weeks before I did. I would then have been able to familiarize myself with the various mas' tents and make contact with the band leaders and mas' camp contact people before the hectic period. This would have facilitated better opportunities for doing research. Another fact that I was

made aware of was that Carnival was such a big business that the idea of being able to drop in on a mas' camp was inaccurate. It just could not be done. I also found out that because there were now strict copyright laws videotaping of the event was forbidden at all venues (see figure 44). In addition because the laws were being enacted for the first time in 1998, many of those who were entrusted to enforce it did not know what they should enforce. As a result, I was stopped from videotaping the event in the streets. Tedda Eustace who was building the King of the Band costume for "Botay" was afraid to speak to me about his king's costume. I was also given conflicting information about needing a press pass to take pictures in the Savannah. An official at the National Carnival Commission of Trinidad and Tobago said that I would need a press pass costing $2,500 US. if I wanted to videotape events at the Savannah, even though I told her that I was doing academic research. I met an acquaintance who was a free lance photographer who said that he got his press pass at no cost. I made several attempts to speak with senior officials at the Commission but was told that they were not available. Another person said that he could set up an interview for me with his father who was a very experienced mas' person but there would be a cost because his father was not doing free interviews.

I reflected on what he had said and inwardly question if I was prepared to pay for interviews for this research. The impression I got was that during the Carnival period when the focus was on Carnival the masqueraders felt that they were obligated to protect their property, that they had a property to protect, that it was their right to protect "their thing" and that they were in a position to enforce a law that they did not understand. I also felt that somewhere there was the need to "cash in" on this new found opportunity to make some extra money. This incident was the first evidence that Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago was big business. The pendulum had swung from times when information about Carnival was free, hospitality was given for next to nothing and Trinidadians were happy that others were interested in their craft, festival and relaxed behaviour.

Since guardianship of the Carnival has a price, I relented and purchased costumes from three individuals who also provided me with their stories (see Figure 43). At the end of the festivities, however some masqueraders still follow former traditions and abandon

parts of their costumes on the streets. This emphasized the points that some individuals still believe that once the event is over the costume is worthless or the notion that mask and masquerader are only valuable as one entity. Mas' bands who have been successful in marketing their band's costumes at exhibitions and museums will have future use for the costumes and those are not destroyed. Those that are no longer valuable are either recycled in following years or destroyed.

"The Change Was Noticed in the Early 80s"

CTM21 also went on to talk about the sense of rivalry that existed in the mas' camp which also created comradeship and contributed braggadocio within the community. To-day individuals can purchase their costumes over the counter at the mas' camp.

CTM21: Man in those days it was a community type effort.
J: When did you notice the changes.
CTM21: [The] change was noticed in the early 80s. The fancy sailor has kept the tradition going. Unfortunately since people like Cito Valesquez have left the scene, only Jason Griffith was left to keep the tradition going. As a matter of fact he celebrated his 58 year of keeping the tradition. I started playing sailor with Jason. We aim to keep it alive because we view it as a Belmont thing. The beauty of this mas' is that we make the head pieces in [mas'] camp. So you have one set of head pieces per section. But each sailor, as an individual would decorate his or her own costume and one of the beauties in the mas' is that I coming to beat you and you coming to beat me. To see who is looking prettier than who.
J: Even in the band?
CTM21: Yeah, so it is a kind of small war within the band itself. There is a friendly rivalry within the band. Men putting out their best. That is the kind of thing I like about

that type of mas.

I interviewed Richard Afong for another side of this issue. He is the chairman of the National Carnival Band Association, a commissioner of National Carnival Commission and the band leader of Babarossa. Afong said the industry is responsible for infusing $TT 360M into the economy of Trinidad and Tobago annually. He went on to talk about the global impact of Trinidad and Tobago Carnival.

Afong: Outside of Trinidad you have something like . . . [80] Trinidad-style Carnivals throughout the Caribbean, parts of North America, Europe, England, and it has even gone as far as Australia. That sends the signal to us that there is something of a great bond between the people who live here and the people who have migrated to other parts of the world. And there is always that, coming back to the social strata of the people and that is going to be where we will be coming from as we head into the twenty-first century. We will have to strengthen those bonds. And that is how we will do it. We will do it through the medium of culture, social culture.

At this point I began to get a sense of the dynamics that were present in Trinidad Carnival in 1998 and felt that the information would inform my research in Edmonton.

Meeting the Bureaucrats

When I returned to the National Carnival Association on Ash Wednesday, February 24, 1998 I found that the staff was more accessible. I finally met with Mr. Cupid who, remembering that I had contacted him earlier, apologized for not returning my calls. He appeared excited to see me and immediately informed me of the research work that he had undertaken. I gathered from him that he was one of the few people in the Association who was giving some thought to the academic study of Carnival. I sense that there was some conflict about his position within the association. He also informed me that a professor from Trinity College, Connecticut and some students were also in Trinidad to do

some research. When I explained to him the problems that I had encountered with obtaining permission to do my research he indicated that I never spoke to the right individuals because students are allowed to conduct research at no cost. This position was also reinforced when I spoke to Ms. Angela Fox, the official whom I had some difficulty meeting during the festival. Both were very helpful at this point. Ms. Fox gave me the names and contact numbers of several leaders who represented bands ranging from small to large categories and whom she felt would give some sense of the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival. Mr. John Cupid also promised that if I were prepared to wait a while he would take me to meet the Trinity College professor so that she could tell me about the plans for the 2nd World Conference on Carnival. I decided to wait and as I did so I looked around the waiting room at some of the pictures on the wall. The pictures represented traditional mas' characters. I assumed that these were old mas' characters, because some of them, such as Dame Lorraine (see Figure 45), were unfamiliar to me. Mr. Cupid then informed me that the pictures represented old-time traditional mas' which the association was trying to preserve as a reminder of the history of Carnival. This was yet another example of the conflict that existed in Trinidad Carnival: the need to preserve the past in light of the influence of the big "business attitude" that is now associated with Carnival. This theme was mentioned again when I interviewed the mas' producers in Trinidad.

Once my research was completed in Trinidad and Tobago I felt that I was now informed and could plunge into researching the individuals in Edmonton. While in Trinidad I was able to interview fifteen participants for an average of ninety minutes each, to shoot several rolls of film and to record two hours of video. I found out about the 2nd World Conference on Carnival from my Trinidad contacts and I later attended this conference which focussed on "[the] festival paradigm of Afro-based celebrations of the Caribbean and the Americas" (Riggio, 1998). During this conference where I presented a paper, I gained valuable material from the most current researchers on Trinidad Carnival.

Figure 45. Two dancers in Dame Loraine costumes dance at the 2nd World Conference held at Trinity College, Hartford. Connecticut in October, 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Back in Edmonton

The Group I Planned to Interview

I intended to research the Mas Productions group because I had played mas with them previously. I would follow the band through its stages of making the costumes until they were finally presented to the public. I had already met with and interviewed the president and three individuals who comprised the group's mas' committee. They informed me that the group intended to bring out a band but they were not sure at the time what form it would take (see Figure 63). Some felt they would bring out a "fun T-shirt mas'" because it was already March and they had not yet done any preliminary designs for the current year's mas'. By their own estimates this process was already late and next to impossible to accomplish at this point. Throughout my conversations with the members of this group I could sense that there were perhaps some internal conflicts which the group was trying to resolve and no one was prepared to talk about that aspect of the group's dynamics. This conflict was indeed preventing them from producing their usual mas' and also was jeopardizing my plans. As this group showed no signs of producing a large band I decided to reevaluate my decision to research their group.

My Change of Plans

After some internal deliberation and reflection I decided to expand my research to include bands with which I had infrequent past association. This action put me in a somewhat awkward position. Firstly, because I had not built up a relationship with the bands I was proposing to interview, I had to get acquainted with the group before I could start interviewing its members. Secondly, because the community was small, many individuals from the other bands would know with which band I had previously played mas' and I wondered if that would limit my research.

In fact it was not as bad as I had feared because one band although "new" was a

spin off from an established band. Through my discussions with a mas maker who was previously from the now fledging band I found out that she would be getting another group together to bring out a new band. I recalled this information and called her to find out if they were still going ahead as planned. She confirmed that they were and I added this mas' camp to my list.

Through friends, I was able to make contact with Humming Bird the other well established band. At this point I had two mas' camps on my list that I could visit to document their mas' making process and felt I could interview other individual participants as the process evolved. Towards the end of July an impromptu mas' camp emerged on the scene and it was also included in the research.

The Groups and Individuals I Did Interview

In total, I interviewed thirty-four individuals in Edmonton for this research. I also captured the activities at three mas' camps, the performances of one musical band and a steelband; the practice session of another steelband; and the Cariwest Carnival parade on videotape. Whenever possible I also recorded on videotape the interviews of some of the participants and in so doing I was able to capture 'rich text" on film. I met individuals at the camp sites, in their homes , in coffee shops, along the parade route, at City Hall, at a business office and even at the public library. The majority of the interviews were conducted with individuals but four were group interviews. One interview, held at a mas' camp, started off entirely with youths but two adults joined the group towards the end of the discussion. This was one of the most spirited interviews, reflected differences of opinion and proved to be my most controversial interview.

Chapter 3

Where You Come From!

The Caribbean Immigrants

Many of the participants at the Cariwest parade are from the English speaking islands of the Caribbean, the Bahamas, Bermuda and the English speaking countries in Central and South America. Our common bonds are our geography, the English language we speak, and our colonial past forged under European colonial masters.

The West Indies or Caribbean as it is often referred to, are an archipelago of islands located in the Caribbean Sea, south of Florida, north of South America and East of Central America (see Figure 3).

Although the assumption is that the people from the West Indies or Caribbean, have many cultural entities in common, some aspects of their culture may vary. This is especially so with Carnival and other street festivals that are celebrated throughout the Caribbean. The similarities of these festive events are that they blend traditions from African, European and East Asian cultures. Carnival or the occasion when we play mas, is defined as "the national fête (festival, festive event) of Trinidad and Tobago" (Alleyne-Dettmers, 1993, p. 1).

Jamaica has a celebration, though smaller, that is similar to carnival. Jonkonnu, Jamaica's national street masquerade festival features "an exclusively male entourage of costumed dancers which performs not only at Christmas but at state occasions" (Bettelheim, 1985, p. 85). Bettelheim (1985) states that Jonkonnu is a festival that is also performed "on election day or at independence, with the support of a political party with prepaid participants rather than a participatory event in a neighbourhood". In this way it is unlike the Carnival that Trinidadians and Tobagonians celebrate. Trinidad style Carnival is now celebrated in Jamaica, just as it is in other Canadian cities. Byron Lee, a popular Jamaican musician and participant in Trinidad Carnival is credited with introducing that

style of carnival to Jamaica. (See Figure 46).

The people in Barbados celebrate "***Cropover***" from July 14 to August 6 each year. ***Cropover*** originated as a harvest festival for the labourers and was sponsored by the plantation owner after the sugar harvesting was completed. In this case it may have occurred at a similar time to ***Canne Brulée, Canboulay*** or the cane burning festival that was celebrated in Trinidad. However the theme was quite different. ***Cropover*** incorporated dancing, festival competitions such as "climbing the Greased pole" and side attractions such as "hand-Walkers". In this way it had a different focus from the part of Trinidad Carnival that was influenced by the Africans.

Grenada and other Caribbean islands where the Romance languages were formerly spoken also celebrated Carnival while Caribbean islands and countries that trace their heritage to Britain seem to celebrate *Jonkonnu* festivals. Trinidad and Tobago were probably the first among the West Indian countries to recognize the event as a national cultural festival and to promote it as a tourist attraction. As the festival in Trinidad and Tobago became more recognized many other islands in the Caribbean adopted the *steelband* instrument and *calypso* music as commodities that they could use to market their tourist industry.

The impetus behind the marketing of Carnival as a Spring and Summer event could be because it can be promoted as a tourist attraction. The warm weather tourist attraction of the Fall and Winter appeals to foreigners from the cold climates while the Carnival celebrations of the Spring and Summer are mainly meant to appeal to the former residents who now live abroad as well as to the tourist. Evidence of this is demonstrated by the advertisements and feature articles that appear in travel magazines and the travel section of major newspapers (Rohter, 1998; Hall, Summer/Fall, 1998 & Zukowski, 1999).

A 1998 observation (Hall, 1998) showed that many islands that once celebrated Carnival as a pre-Lenten festival have chosen to have them as Spring or Summer festivals. Jamaica and Barbados now have Carnival-like events such as Jamaica Carnival, and Barbados has Congaline and Cropover festivals. Guyana introduced its Mashramani festival as an Independence Day celebration in the early 1970's.

Many of the artists who are the mainstay of these other Carnivals travel to Trinidad and Tobago annually to experience the Carnival aesthetics and vitality that exist on these two islands. Entertainers from Trinidad and Tobago also participate in the other Carnivals, thus making the Trinidad and Tobago's Carnival a marketable commodity. A May 6, 1999 article in the Trinidad Express newspaper pointed out the entrepreneurial contributions made by George Bailey who died of a heart attack while returning to Trinidad from one of these promotional trips. His brother, Albert, quoted in the newspapers, said:

> The last time I spoke to George [Bailey] was the night before his passing. He met me in America after promoting Carnival in Bermuda (along with Cito Valesquez, Harold Saldenah and Stephen Lee Heung [these are all prominent Trinidad mas' makers]) and was on his way back home [Trinidad & Tobago]. He was complaining of the humidity, so Cito told him 'leh we go back home [to Trinidad] now', and they left. (Rampersad, 1999)

He had a fatal heart attack at the Bridgetown, Barbados airport. This incident took place in the 1970's and points out the steps that have historically been taken to promote Trinidad style Carnival in other countries. Thus Trinidad and Tobago Carnival festival, the steel band and Calypso were transmitted to other countries just as any other commodity would have been traded.

This account by a Jamaican whom I interviewed for my research states succinctly how Carnival was once viewed by many others in the West Indies.

CF11: "Being Jamaican, Carnival, per se, is not a part of my development. Ahm, but I do know of Carnival largely because of the West Indian University [the University of the West Indies, Jamaica Campus] where, ahm, so many people from the different islands have come together. So Jamaicans have benefited by learning about Carnival which is predominantly Trinidadian. My first encounter with Carnival is in my coming to Canada, Edmonton in particular. It was interesting to see the kind of similarities between our Jonkonnu that takes place towards the end of the year and the

beginning of the New Year in Jamaica and the Carnival. Now we had always enjoyed calypso music, our music that's relevant to it is **mento** *but we always knew of Sparrow (A famous calypsonian from Trinidad and Tobago), bought his records, all the different Lords, "Lord This and lord That" that they have in Trinidadian calypso, but not until I came here did I really experience mas' as such. Not until I came here [to Edmonton, Canada] did I get an understanding of the steelband, what precisely it was, although theoretically I knew, having read about it. So that was, that was an enlightenment for me. Ahm, in the early years, the seventies I made it a point . . .to take my children [to the parade]. Myself and my family would go to listen and watch the parades. Sort of be a sideliner [sic], looking on and enjoying the spectacle. Because there is a lot of spectacle when it comes to Carnival and playing mas'. But I never did become totally involved in terms of dancing and playing mas', you know following in the streets. However because music is so strong across the Caribbean I look forward to it. You know this great collection of music just being dispensed all around you, so consequently you found yourself moving and feeling a sense of satisfaction deep down in your soul because you are being linked up with your roots. Your African roots!"*

There is a difficulty with referring to people from the Caribbean area in homogeneous terms because it is indeed an enigma. In some cases the populations in the Caribbean are homogeneous in others pluralism exists. When we speak of the place of our birth we seldom refer to the region but to the country be it Trinidad, Tobago, Guyana, Haiti, Cuba, Barbados, Surinam, St Vincent, etc.. Yet, in most cases we share, trade, intermarry and socialize. Gert Oostindie (1996) wrote the following about this region.

> Few would deny the continuing significance of 'race' among all sectors of the present populations of the Caribbean. Even so, the Caribbean contribution to 'cultures of resistance against colonialism and racism has rightly been applauded for its - in view of the region's small size - amazing impact. From Haitian Revolution through José Martí, Marcus Garvey and *négritude* to Fanon and Rasta, the Caribbean has had a resounding voice in the chapters of writing and fighting

back to the empire. Today Caribbean culture is welcomed by some observers as another demonstration of the region's capacity to innovate and to contribute to the global culture of the post-modern world. However, it is difficult not to remark at the increased fragility of these local cultures, undermined as they are by the bitter fruits of independence and the terrifying demonstration effect of the satellite age, tourism, and the nearby migration outlets. In this context, nation-building continues to be a major predicament, as is the search for a wider Caribbean identity.

Caribbean nationalisms have been characterized both by an awareness of shared Caribbean identities and by a parallel or subsequent practice of particularism and insularism. A history of divergent colonial experiences and resulting cultural differences has been of major importance here; but so have - and probably more so - the contemporary realities of differences in scale and economic potential. In spite of earlier optimism, hesitant subregional schemes, and continuing contemporary efforts such as the recent establishment of the Association of Caribbean States, the postwar period has not witnessed a decisive regional integration. The rhetoric of a pan-Caribbean identity has floundered on the sad realities of competing islands marketing the same products and services to the same clientele in a situation of cut-throat competition rather than concerted effort. (pp. 226-227)

Figure 46. Popular Jamaican band leader Byron Lee took Trinidad style Carnival to Jamaica. Every Carnival since the '60's he and his band have been going to Trinidad to play at the numerous parties and to accompany masquerade bands on Carnival day. He comes to Caribana in Toronto annually and after Caribana he tours many Canadian cities where he plays Calypso and Soca music to packed houses. Here he is seen operating the sound system at a Caribbean Dance at the Polish Hall, Edmonton while his band plays on stage (1997). *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Trinidad and Tobago: Our story

Trinidad and Tobago, two most southerly of the Caribbean islands are roughly 4,828 and 300 square kilometres in area respectively. According to the Census data, the population of this twin island nation was 1.4 million in 1990 (Riggio, 1998). Trinidad, formerly *Irie* (or land of the Humming bird) and Tobago were sighted by Columbus on his third voyage in 1498. These two islands had separate histories until they were allied by the British in 1889 (Williams, 1962; Riggio, 1998). With respect to Carnival, their paths were even more distinct for it was only after World War II that the Tobagonians truly captured and embraced the Trinidad Carnival Spirit (Hernandez, 1998).

When Columbus "discovered" Trinidad and Tobago in 1498, the islands were inhabited by roughly 40, 000 indigenous people (Riggio, 1998). They belonged to the Carib (Carinepagotos), Arawak (Jaois, Arawacs, and Saluaios), and Nepoyos Amerindian groups (Lowén, 1935; Williams, 1962; Newson, 1976; and Elie as cited in Riggio, 1998) (See Figure 47).

The Spanish and Amerindians

For approximately three centuries the Spanish held legal claim to Trinidad but during this period the authorities were ambivalent as to what they should do with the island. This ambivalence was characterized by Spain ignoring the island's Spanish settlers, not very interested in helping them establish trading opportunities, but more focussed on ensuring the religious, cultural and linguistic conversion of the natives (Anthony, 1975; Williams, 1962). Many natives were confused by the conquerors' behaviours and distrusted them. Natives were often taken from Trinidad by fortune hunters, explorers and exploiters, and sold as slaves to farmers on larger islands and on the Spanish Main (Central and South America) even though Spanish laws forbade the trading of the Indians (Anthony, 1975).

The demise of the Amerindian population, trade restrictions, failed attempts at

colonization, and failed attempts at the enslavement of the Amerindians were some factors that contributed to the introduction of Africans as slaves to the New world. Other factors which contributed to this human misery were the torching and razing of native agriculture and food source, the introduction of foreign diseases, retaliatory Carib raids on plantations and the killing of the Spanish livestock (Williams, 1962; Anthony, 1975 and Newson, 1976). These conditions also contributed to some of the hardships experienced by the Spanish settlers at the hands of the Amerindians, particularly the Caribs who were considered fierce warriors. After three and a half centuries of Spanish rule the Amerindians were reduced to very small numbers in Arima and South Trinidad. The population of Amerindians living in Trinidad in 1783 was a little over two thousand (see Table 2).

But, from the perspective of Bellour and Kinser (1998), the Trinidad Amerindian history was as follows:

> "Unlike the case in most Caribbean islands, the aboriginal population was not quickly eradicated by war, enslavement, and disease after the Spanish arrived. The aborigines maintained their slowly diminishing tribal independence in the southerly areas of Trinidad until the mid 18th Century, by which time most of them had been converted to Christianity and had produced Spanish-speaking offspring (p. 148).

Amerindian celebrations in Trinidad are not well documented but there are sketchy reports which state that they painted their bodies with ***roucou*** dyes in preparation for war and the chiefs wore gold crowns, chest pendants, earrings and nose ornaments (Lowén, 1935; Williams, 1962). There is some evidence that the Amerindians participated in the Carnival celebrations of the time.

The first description of Amerindian maskers in Carnival is by Charles Day an English visitor to the West Indies between 1846 and 1851. He witnessed a Carnival parade at Port of Spain in 1848 that included maskers portraying 'Indians from South America . . . [who were] [d]aubed with red ochre . . .[and] carried real Indian quivers and bows, as well as baskets and doubtless were fair representatives of the characters they assumed' (Day, as cited in Bellour & Kinser, 1998).

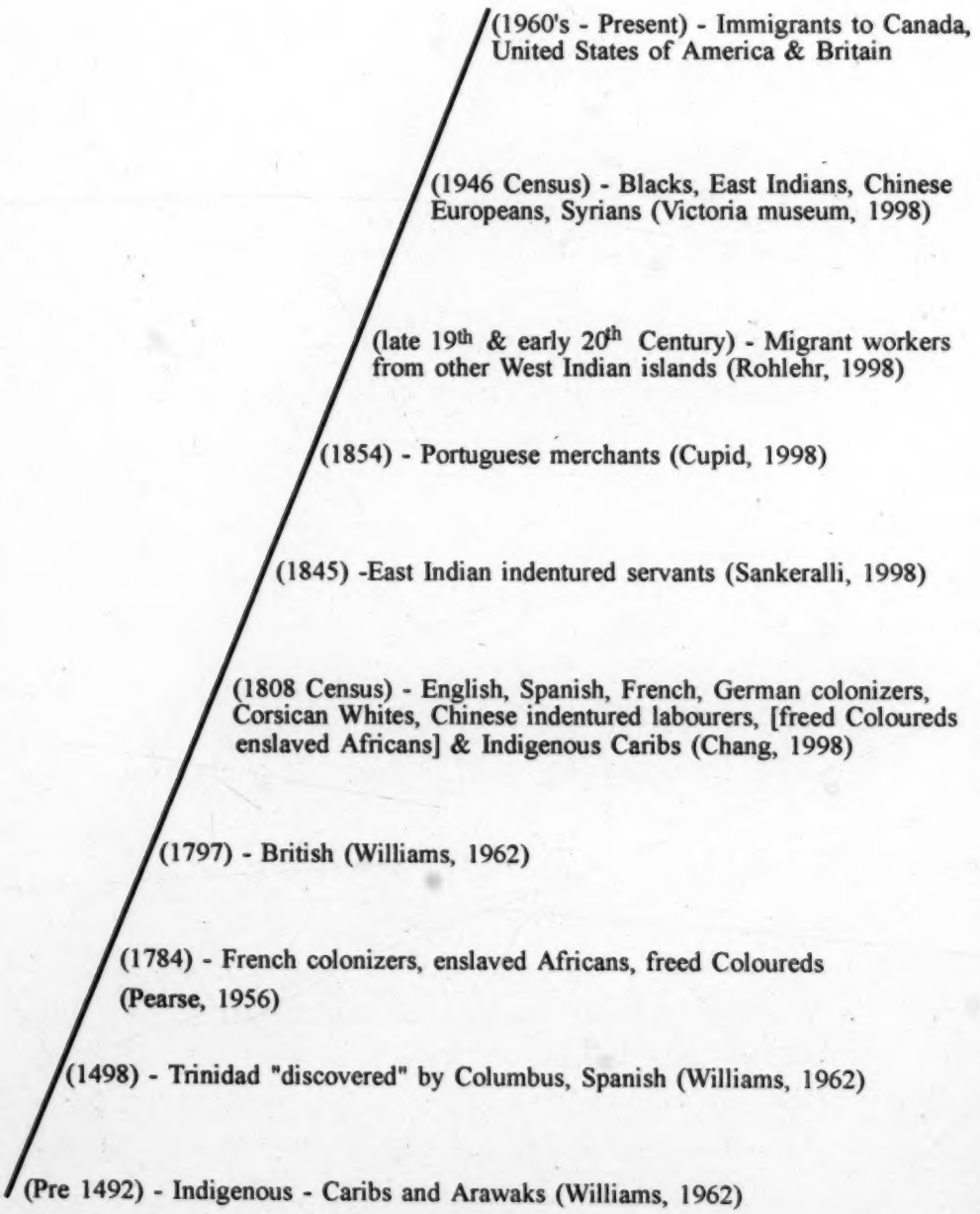
According to newspaper accounts in 1923, fierce looking wild Indians with their faces painted in ***roucou*** red dyes were also seen on the streets during that year's Carnival celebrations (Anthony, 1989). Amerindian themes particular to the North American plains Indians have been portrayed in Trinidad Carnival since the 1940s (Crowley as cited in Bellour and Kinser, 1988).

Today some people who live in places such as Arima, Maracas, St Joseph (see Figure 1); and other rural areas are descendants of Africans, Spanish and Amerindians. The original Spanish speaking people in Trinidad and the Blacks who were brought from Venezuela to work on the cocoa plantations have sustained ***Parang*** music. According to Sealey and Malm (1983) Parang is celebrated throughout Trinidad one month before Christmas and sometimes in the rural areas at Easter. From some local perspectives the Parang festivities signify the start of the Carnival season.

Table 2: Demographic structure of Trinidad from 1783-1831. Emancipation occurred in 1838. Source West Indian Census, 1941, p. ix as cited in Braithwaite, 1975, Pearse, 1956 and van Koningsbroggen, 1997.

Year	Whites	Coloureds	Amerindians	Chinese	Enslaved Africans	Total
1783	126	295	2,032	---	310	2,763
1797	2,151	4,474	1,078	---	10,009	17,712
1800	2,359	4,408	1,071	---	15,012	22,850
1805	2,434	5,801	1,733	---	20,108	30.076
1810	2,487	6,269	1,659	---	20,728	31,143
1815	3,219	9,563	1,147	---	24,329	38,348
1820	3,707	13,965	910	29	22,738	41,348
1828	3,310	14,980	727	12	23,230	42,262
1831	3,319	16,285	762	7	21,302	41,675

Figure 47. Time line which shows the presence, arrival and departure of different groups of people from Trinidad. Information compiled from various sources.


(1960's - Present) - Immigrants to Canada, United States of America & Britain
(1946 Census) - Blacks, East Indians, Chinese Europeans, Syrians (Victoria museum, 1998)
(late 19th & early 20th Century) - Migrant workers from other West Indian islands (Rohlehr, 1998)
(1854) - Portuguese merchants (Cupid, 1998)
(1845) -East Indian indentured servants (Sankeralli, 1998)
(1808 Census) - English, Spanish, French, German colonizers, Corsican Whites, Chinese indentured labourers, [freed Coloureds enslaved Africans] & Indigenous Caribs (Chang, 1998)
(1797) - British (Williams, 1962)
(1784) - French colonizers, enslaved Africans, freed Coloureds (Pearse, 1956)
(1498) - Trinidad "discovered" by Columbus, Spanish (Williams, 1962)
(Pre 1492) - Indigenous - Caribs and Arawaks (Williams, 1962)

The French: Bon Vivant

Conflicts in Europe and the West Indies between British, French and Spanish, forced the Spaniards to make a concerted effort to colonize Trinidad (Williams, 1962). In 1783, the *Cedula of Population* while still entitling Spain to political and administrative control of Trinidad, gave the French who were Catholic the right to settle in and develop the island (Williams, 1962; Stewart, 1986). This arrangement lasted for eighteen years before Trinidad changed hands, peacefully, in 1802, to become a British colony. In spite of this change, Trinidad essentially remained Spanish by name, British by rule and French by nature for several decades (Pearse, 1956). The events brought on by the ***Cedula of Population*** heralded the turning point in Trinidad's social and cultural history, marked by a new life-style and the inception of Trinidad-style Carnival.

By authority of the "***Cedula of Population***", many colonists relocated from other French West Indian islands to Trinidad (Pearse, 1956; Williams, 1962; can Koningsbruggen, 1997). These people included French plantocracy or aristocratic plantation owners, Creole planters, enslaved Africans and freed Coloureds (see Table 2 and Figure 49) (Pearse, 1956; Williams, 1962; van Koningsbruggen, 1997). The French colonists brought with them a world view that included French republican ideology (Johnson, 1988), a Creole cuisine and a popular culture described as "bon vivant" (Pearse, 1956; Ottley as cited in Stewart, 1986).

This popular culture included a considerable number of "concerts, [masquerade] balls, dinners, house parties, hunting parties and ***'fêtes champetres'*** during the carnival season which lasted from Christmas to Ash Wednesday" (Pearse 1956, p. 7). Accounts of the time describe the atmosphere as one where the "French society in Trinidad . . . sought and found recognition among their peers by excelling in elegance, sophistication and ability in the arts, conversation, dress, music and hospitality, according to provincial French standards" (Pearse, 1956, pp. 7-8). The frivolity extended to the freed Coloureds as well because "French Republican ideology, (as distinct . . . [as that of] the British) [was] that their colonials were neither white nor black nor coloured, just French"

(Johnson, 1988, p. xiii).

Carnival symbolized a façade because it allowed the Whites and Freed Coloureds, though normally "carefully segregated" to superficially unite on the streets where each could then cross social, cultural and colour boundaries (Johnson, 1988). Masquerading also provided opportunities for Whites to mimic and parody the field slave or *"negre jardin"* through role reversal (Pearse, 1956). They fantasized that they were the slaves and depicted the slave's behaviour as it occurred when they worked at extinguishing cane fires or when they celebrated after that task was successfully completed (Pearse, 1956). The slaves were said to run around like irresponsible children with lit torches and the planters deemed their behaviour "childish, sensuous and hedonistic" (Johnson, 1988, p. xiii). Johnson also stated that the White women dressed like courtesans and "acted out a different dream when they dressed themselves as coloured women, pretending that their husbands desired them as they did their mulatto mistresses" (Johnson, 1988, p. xiii). Stewart (1986) described the costume as follows:

> The mulatress costume imitated the flamboyant extravagance of mulatress dress -- a bright madras head-kerchief, colorful scarf, long-sleeved bodice, and long high-waisted skirt over several billowing petticoats trimmed with lace. Bunched earrings, strings of beads around the neck, and various bright pins completed this costume (p. 299).

In pre-emancipation times the enslaved Africans were not allowed to participate and were confined to their master's back yards during Carnival (Pearse, 1956) Some slaves had opportunities to perform as musicians and entertainers for their masters (Johnson, 1988) and in such instances they were pseudo-participants. For the most part however, Carnival celebrations held other meanings for the slaves. During that time their muted celebrations centred around fantasy, where they imitated their masters' and mistresses' activities in the "big house' with a cheaper replication of their costumes; and defiance, where they sang songs of insurrection or acted out celebrations of freedom or sometimes plotted escapes (Johnson, 1988).

Johnson (1988) went on to say that "carnival in Trinidad, like similar festivals throughout the Caribbean, had become a focal point for the elaboration of African cultural retentions in music, dance, costume and ritual, and a celebration of freedom" (p. xiv). Elements of these celebrations, notably African dance, song and drumming were retained and surfaced after emancipation.

The ***Canne Brulée (Canboulay)*** themes that the Whites acted out in pre-emancipation carnivals were only performed by the slaves during post-emancipation Carnivals. However the freed people and labouring class did not start off by portraying ***canboulay*** themes in Carnival. This event was first performed by them at Emancipation celebrations and the performance was only done as a reminder of their days under slavery and as a celebration of their freedom (Johnson, 1988).

> After Emancipation the Negroes began to represent this scene [***canboulay***] as a kind of commemoration of the change in their condition, and the procession of the ***'cannes brulée'*** used to take place on the night of the 1st August, the date of their emancipation, and was kept up for much the same reason as the John Canoe [Jonkonnu] dance in Jamaica (Pearse, 1956, p. 18).

According to Stewart, (1986), ***Canne Brulée*** "integrated some elements of the elite fête with forms and performances that were discretely of slave or lower-class Creole origins. . . . "Kings" and "queens" were selected and ***canboulay*** . . . became the centre of the parade. In this celebration . . . blacks introduced the traditions of ***calinda***, . . . and stick-fighting into the public domain (p. 300).

The stick fighting tradition either originated in Africa or was borrowed from the indigenous Amerindians but it became "a masculine ritual form ... through which men express[ed] their power and dominance over others" (Stewart, 1986, p. 300).

The Africans: Canboulay and Carnival

After their arrival, the British government made several unsuccessful attempts to abolish ***Canne Brulée*** . Sometime in the mid nineteenth century, the celebration of the

canboulay was shifted from August to coincide with the pre-Lenten Carnival but because the revellers fought and misbehaved the government restricted ***canboulay*** bands. Ordinances passed in 1840 empowered the police to "prohibit revellers [of ***canboulay*** bands] from wearing face masks, blowing horns, playing noisy instruments, carrying torches, stick fighting, drumming and singing obscene songs" (Stewart, 1986, p. 301).

This move, instead of stymieing the revellers' enthusiasm and spirit, only served to encourage them to be more innovative and inventive and spawned a mentality which said that it was all right to make changes to traditional norms, cultural symbols and costumes. One notable example of this is the use of the mask in Carnival. The symbolic use of the mask on the face to conceal identity was no longer possible because of the ban. The mask is maintained, but it is now seen attached to a pole and held by the masquerader high above the head, (now called a standard), or on head pieces, or on other parts of elaborate costumes (see Figures 2, 10, & 39). One very seldom sees a masker without the standard. This standard has undergone changes as well. It no longer has to look like a mask and its function can now be to establish a theme or be the unifying symbol in a masquerade band or to create height and frame the masquerader.

Resistance by the lower class was ever present in Trinidad's Carnival. This resulted in some serious rebellions between defiant *canboulay* revellers and the police (Pearse, 1956; Anthony, 1989). ***Canboulay*** was officially abolished in 1884 (Stewart, 1986, p. 301). With this ban the poorer class was essentially prevented from celebrating in their style of carnival while the elites gradually returned to participating in the street masquerade, house parties and masquerade balls, during Carnival (Pearse, 1956). The Blacks were not kept out of the celebration for long. Their form of masquerade, a new genre of carnival is known as ***j'ouvert***" (Stewart, 1986, p. 302).

J'ouvert is a ritual "opening up of the streets at dawn on **lundi *gras*** where one witnesses a type of masquerade known as 'ole mas' where parody and role reversals exist and masqueraders imitate or mimic the authorities and upper classes and 'dress down' as opposed to the 'dress up' that accompanies the disguise balls" (Stewart, 1986, p. 302).

Since African drumming was banned this type of music went under-ground and

was played at African religious ceremonies. The masses however continued to celebrate Carnival but accompanied themselves with bamboo percussion instruments known as "***tamboo-bamboo***" and tin-pans during the Carnival festivals. These were the forerunner to the steel pan an integral element of today's Carnival celebration. According to Stewart:

> Despite the role reversals and other kinds of play acted out in the *jouvert*, as a result of the actual separation between classes in the society, the early twentieth-century carnival developed on two distinct planes: as a rowdy, superstitious, always potentially violent carnival of the masses, and as a carnival of glitter and stiff-backed decorum among the upper classes. With the latter, the carnival continued to be approached as an extension of European culture; while among the masses, the forging of a locally based and nurtured celebration remained the dominant pattern (Stewart, 1986, pp. 302-303).

The Creole middle class, who were not socially accepted by the white upper class and who felt that the activities of the brawling lower class was despicable, were important to the advancement of carnival in Trinidad. "Carnival reflected the cultural ambivalence which affected them and came to be an important context within which this ambivalence could be addressed" (Stewart, 1986, p. 303). Their involvement was necessary if carnival were to be a fully integrated event.

During World War 1 ordinances limited what individuals could do during Carnival. This resulted in many feeling that participating in it was not worth their while. Anthony (1989) wrote this account:

> At least, however restricted the Carnival was in 1915, disguises were not totally banned, but by 1917, not only were people forbidden to wear masks, but they were forbidden to wear fancy dress as well. Under those circumstances it would have been much simpler to ban the Carnival (p. 18).

However "in its revival between 1919 and 1941, the separate levels of celebration were maintained but the middle class took a more active role. Although they still appeared in ***jouvert***, their great concentration came in the Carnival queen contest on ***dimanche gras***

and the fancy and historical bands of the ***Mardi gras*** pageant (Stewart, 1986, p. 303).

As the years passed, the carnival events became more streamlined and organized. ***Jouvet*** bands appeared for competition on Monday morning, and this was followed by the parade of "traditional masques-clowns, minstrels, [and] maypole dancers", which paraded in small groups or as individuals until noon (Stewart, 1986, p. 304).

> Military bands and small bands wearing original costumes came out in the early afternoon, followed by the big historical bands in fine satin costumes and the individual depictions extraordinaire, which dominated until dusk. From dusk until midnight, daytime bands partially broke up and throngs gathered around the best musicians for the night's "jump-up." When the elites and the "cultured" middle class participated in the street parade, they did so in bands comprised of their own cohorts (Stewart, 1986, p. 304).

During 1942 Carnival was banned (Pearse, 1956; Stewart, 1986; Rohlehr, 1990). Rohlehr (1990) wrote the following about the decision to ban Carnival during World War II:

> The primary reason given by [Governor, Sir Hubert] Young for banning Carnival in 1942 was 'the imperative need for subordinating all matters to the vigorous prosecution of the war.' Though he did not say it, there was also the fact that Trinidad with its oil reserves and American naval and military bases, had become a likely target for German U-boat attacks which had escalated in the Caribbean region. A powerful secondary reason was Young's belief that Carnival was a waste of money which ought to be contributed to the War Loan (p. 340).

By 1890 the format for Trinidad had undergone three distinct changes since Emancipation. Pearse(1956) outlined these changes as follows:

> After Emancipation the element which had predominated formerly withdrew from active participation , and those who had hitherto been debarred from participation joined in tentatively and experimentally. About thirty years later, Canboulay became established as the midnight overture to Carnival, and for the next twenty years its dominant element, . . . Towards the end of the Century the festival re-

> emerged and began to move "upwards", . . . acceptable to and practised by all the main sections of the community . . . [except] the stricter Protestants and the less acculturated East Indians (p. 35).

The recognition by Pearse (1956) of the dynamic nature of Trinidad style Carnival is worthy of note. The ability of this Carnival to undergo change and survive continues to-day, is perhaps one of its hallmarks, and perhaps contributes to its viability. As well East Indians though noticeably absent, according to Pearse's account were the next major group to contribute to Carnival and in so doing opened this phenomenon to another level of contestation.

Chutney and Carnival

> Trinidad's Carnival is alive. It grows organically out of a rich culture, a torturous history. The event is a space where the entire range of our cultural expression and ethnic diversity emerges (Sankeralli, 1998, 203).

Sankeralli's observation is important as it speaks to the multicultural nature and cultural acceptance of Carnival by the ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago. One participant from my research who is of East Indian origin stated that when he lived in Trinidad he never thought that Carnival was part of his cultural heritage. As a youth he felt that he was simply a spectator just as Solo Girdharrie is in the article by Sankeralli (1998). But, as Sankeralli (1998) states, this was not the case in urban areas like St. James, Trinidad where the East Indian and Afro-Trinidad cultures intermingled.

The East Indian immigrants arrived in Trinidad from the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu between 1845 and 1917 (Sankeralli, 1998). The conditions that they encountered on the island's sugar plantations were no different from what the enslaved Africans were exposed to prior to emancipation, but their period of indenture-ship lasted for five years. After this five year period they were entitled to return to India, with the aid of a free fare, or alternatively they could choose to stay in Trinidad with some gratuity. Many chose to stay and they were able to maintain their language,

religion, food, and a substantial aspect of their culture, or assimilate into the greater society as it existed in Trinidad at that time. As stated by Sankeralli (1998) the East Indian's dominant language was a Trinidadian version of Bhojpuri-Hindi, common in the Uttar Pradesh. Since for the most part they were able to maintain their religion and culture, they also maintained many of their rituals and celebrations. Hosay, the one East Indian festival that closely relates to Carnival actually reenacts the funeral of the Prophet Mohammed's grandsons. But, in true Trinidad fashion, everything that hits the streets soon becomes a street parade. So it was only a matter of time before this sacred festival would turn into a secular parade. People of African and East Indian descent beat the tassa drums and to the strains of the accompanying rhythmic sounds, of the drums, and jahlls large Tadjahs are first paraded on the streets then taken to the seaside and burnt with blazing torches.

As Pearse (1956) stated East Indian involvement in Carnival was gradual. Girdharrie, as cited in Sankeralli (1998) states, that while East Indian masqueraders were rare in the 1950's they participated as spectators in the Carnival celebrations that were held in San Fernando and Central Trinidad. When they did get involved they did so at the village level, by playing mainly traditional mas' of ***Amerindian Masqueraders, Jab Molassie, Midnight Robbers, Sailors, Bats*** **and** ***Burrokeets***, and as well, by introducing their own cultural traditions of East Indian singing, dancing and ***leelas*** (Sankeralli, 1998).

Sankeralli (1998) stated that "presently Indian participation expresses the very centre of this community claiming its space in the post-Creole mainstream" (p. 207). ***Chutney***, an East Indian condiment is now used to refer to a style of music that is a mix of East Indian lyrics and a ***soca (calypso)*** musical beat. It now competes with the other musical genres for public attention during the Carnival season. In addition, many East Indian females play mas'. Sankeralli (1998) wrote that " a number of young Indo-Trinidadians play mas in one of the neo-European bands, Poison" (p. 207), a very large popular masquerade band of mainly female individual participants.

***Chinese Laundry* and *Callaloo* in Trinidad Carnival**

Although according to Census information, twenty-nine Chinese were enumerated in Trinidad and Tobago in 1802, they really began arriving in earnest in 1853 (Woods, 1968). They came with similar rules of indenture as did the East Indians except they did not receive a promise of a free return passage to China. Mainly Chinese males travelled to Trinidad and some later sent back to China for wives or brides. Many however choose to marry local Creoles, Portuguese and Black women and did not maintain their religion or "family naming" tradition. The Chinese established themselves as merchants and service providers and soon became part of the "well-established middle class" (Chang, 1998, p. 213). They also had their own socio-cultural association that sponsored annual Carnival dance and other events. I attended two of their Carnival dances before I left Trinidad in 1968 and remember them as being private affairs opened only to members and friends of the association.

The first Chinese participation in Trinidad Carnival occurred in 1927 (Chang, 1998) but because they were merchants they were probably always involved in the merchandising that is associated with Carnival. Throughout their involvement they have been known to either create or sponsor many masquerade bands or Carnival queen contestants (Chang, 1998). The husband and wife team, Stephen and Elsie Lee Heung, were producers of very great carnival bands while Richard Afong, another Chinese of mixed ancestry and leader of the masquerade band "Barbarossa" is now President of the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival Bands Association (Chang, 1998).

Another group whose contributions to Trinidad's Carnival culture parallels those of the Chinese are the Portuguese. They arrived in Trinidad in 1854 (Cupid, 1998). Of the many Portuguese who participate in Carnival perhaps the most noteworthy are Geraldo Vieira and Cito Valesquez who has produced innovative costumes using "wire bending techniques. Today many of Vieira's costumes are made of moulded plastics, cellophane and fibre glass rods; and illuminated by pyrotechniques and special effects (Riggio, 1998). These are the individuals who have contributed to the development and promotion of

Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago. The British, headed my renowned masquerader Peter Minshall have made and continue to make substantial contributions to Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago.

Theories Associated with Trinidad and Tobago Style Carnival

The theories associated with my research are the origin of Carnival, costuming, cultural transmittance, meaning (including aesthetic and cultural meaning), domestic material cultural and ritual (including celebration, festivals, play and symbolic interaction).

The Origin of Carnival

Some theories about the origin of Carnival link the Trinidad-style Carnival to those celebrated in France during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. These Carnivals were said to commemorate the Roman Saturnalias or the "return of Saturn's golden age upon earth" (Bakhtin, 1964, p. 7). Even this is a simplistic approach to classifying the phenomenon because of the existence of the vernacular "culture of folk humour" (Bakhtin, 1964, p. 17), that was prevalent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

> Celebration of a carnival type represented a considerable part of the life of medieval men, even in the time given over to them. Large medieval cities devoted an average of three months a year to these festivities. The influence of the carnival spirit was irresistible; it made a man renounce his official state as monk, cleric, scholar and perceive the world in its laughing aspect. (Bakhtin, 1964, p. 13)

Rabelais understood the meaning of this form of popular culture and was successful in interpreting it. In "Rabelais and his world", Bakhtin (1964), analysed Rabelais' writings on the carnivals of the Middle ages and Renaissance and stated that the practice of the common people consisted of popular merriment which occurred at all public and private celebrations. These celebrations could be feast day commemorations, weddings or agricultural harvest festivals. According to Bakhtin (1964):

> During the century long development of medieval carnival prepared by thousands of years of ancient comic ritual, including the primitive Saturnalias, a special idiom of form and symbols was evolved - an extremely rich idiom that expressed the unique yet complex carnival experience of the people. (p. 10)

He continued that medieval carnivals were not always celebrations of the usual feast days or harvests. He listed one that "marked the last days before lent . . . [and this] was called Mardi Gras or Carême-prenant in France" (Bakhtin, 1968, p. 9). Tallant (1948) also stated that "the Saturnalia took place at a time that seemed to correspond more with Christmas than with Mardi Gras" (p. 89). Thus the Carnival that is celebrated in Trinidad and Tobago may have evolved from the Saturnalia celebration which evolved to Mardi Gras.

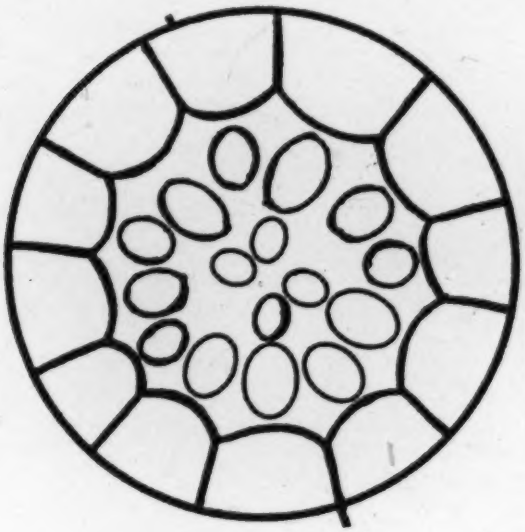
Another view on the origin of Trinidad-style carnival is expressed by Liverpool (1998) who argued that even if we accepted the premise of an Eurocentric beginning for Trinidad and Tobago style Carnival, European Carnivals could be traced back to Rome and that these Carnivals originated with the Egyptians of Africa (Tallant as cited by Liverpool, 1998). Tallant (1948) wrote that the first descriptions of Carnival showed up in the writings of Ovid who lived between B.C. 43 and A.D. 17 or 18. Ovid's writings described the Spring celebrations of Greek Acadian shepherds (Tallant, 1948). Tallant (1948) also stated that the dates for the pre-Lenten Roman Carnival celebrations were fixed by Pope Gregory around the year 600, and that even after the Greek and Egyptian ritual symbols disappeared from the Roman Carnival the festival continued and that around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Carnival celebrations had "reached its height of pure romantic beauty" (Tallant, 1948, p. 91). These were the Carnival celebrations that spread to France, Spain, Venice, Portugal and other parts of Europe (Tallant, 1948).

The evidence for an Afrocentric bias was more pronounced when the origins of the steelband music, calypsos and costumed figures of the traditional Carnivals were examined. African celebrations in Trinidad were witnessed on the plantations during the Cannes Brûlées, but Johnson (1988) stated that even though the enslaved people did not

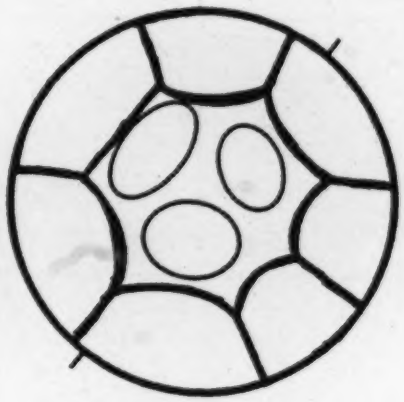
have any freedom to participate in the festivities during Carnival they still held unauthorized celebrations because of the overall relaxed atmosphere on the plantations. During their festivities they performed stick fighting, drumming, singing, dancing and rites of reversal where women dressed, although scaled down, to look like their house mistresses.

Stick Fighting or ***kalenda*** was traced back to Guinea, Africa (Rohlehr, 1990; Liverpool, 1998). Another important element of Carnival is the Calypso which originated with the ***chanterelles*** whose style of call-and-response singing also originated in Africa (Liverpool, 1998). Early Carnival featured African drumming, and when these were banned, the ***Tamboo Bamboo*** became the musical instrument of choice. The limiting musical capabilities of these bamboo instruments encouraged the youths in *Laventille* and *Woodbrook* to explore different ways of creating music. They drummed on biscuit tins, car chassis and hubcaps and even oil tins. No one knows for certain the exact time when these youngsters, mainly children of the under-privileged (Jones, 1982), realized that this crude form of music making was something that could be forged into a genre of music. (see Figure 48 & 49). All that is known is that the evolution of the steelband has been attributed to Winston Spree Simon and Ellie Mannette, from *Laventille* and *Woodbrook* respectively. Oil drums were first burnt to remove caked-on oil and other debris. When it was discovered that these pans produced a sound quite different to the unburnt pans, "burning and quenching [the pans to produce different notes became] . . . an integral part of the drum making process" (Gay, 1998, p. 65).

Figure 48. The Steelband consists of many sets of steel pans that represent different sections of a musical band. These are the tenor pan, the guitar pan, the cello pan and the bass pan (Sunday Guardian, February 15, 1998, p. 3).

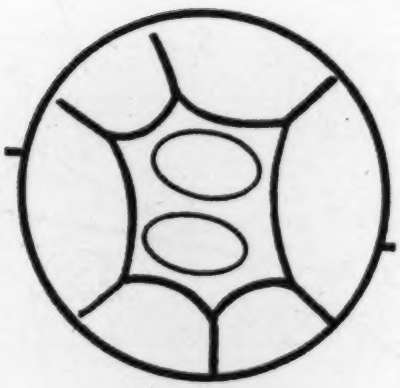


The Tenor Pan



The Tenor Pan

The Guitar Pan and Cello Pans are the middle range pans on which chords are played to support the melody played by the lead pan.



The Cello Pan

The Tenor Pan has the highest pitchof all steelpans. It was also called the ping pong.

The Bass Pan

The Bass Pans are the instruments in the steelband which provides a deep low pitch.

Figure 49. Cecil T. George and his band TrinCan Steel Orchestra of Edmonton are seen performing on 124th Street, Edmonton. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

"Mas making and masquerading are traditions found all over Africa as interlocking aspects of most celebrations" (Liverpool, 1998, p. 33). Turner (1969) observed that some Western and Central African cultures held "complex initiation rites [which were] often associated with masked dancers . . .[who] portray[ed] ancestral spirits or deities (p. 4). According to Turner (1969) the elements in the rituals had expressive symbolic functions. The elements connected the known state to the unknown state which is unstructured and chaotic and these elements were used to return the participants from the unknown, unstructured chaotic state to the familiar state. Liverpool (1998) from his studies of African masking found that "masking suggests spirit-associated transformations whereby the wearers cancel or obliterate their personalities by changing into other human characters and supernatural spirits so that they are no longer themselves"(p. 33). Based on these observations, the conclusion is that community masquerading was familiar and meaningful to the enslaved Africans.

According to Melville Herskovits as cited by Liverpool (1998) many of the enslaved Africans were from West Africa and were acquainted with masking and masquerading. Liverpool points out the Yoruba people were skilled at doing satirical performances, a tradition that is very popular and is in fact still the main stay of our J'ouvert. Their masqueraders consisted of "rich layered clothes, masks and head dresses portraying animals (Turner, 1969), spirits, and undesirables. The Carnival characters were also associated with harvest and in the case of Moko Jumbies were similar to stilt walkers who performed annually to "Orisha Oluwa" the town's protector (Liverpool, 1998).

After the harvest, the enslaved Africans were given opportunities to relax especially if they were successful in saving the crops. Liverpool (1998) stated that "[t]he characters, [such as Jab Molassie and Moko Jumbies], played by Africans in Trinidad during the pre-emancipation period . . . [are] proof that their carnival was totally different in form and function from that of the Europeans " (p. 34).

There are many movements in today's Carnival to retain the African centred rituals. In Trinidad and at the 2nd World Conference on Carnival, held at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, I witnessed a resurgence of masquerade elements such as Mid-

night Robbers, black and blue devils, Pierrot Grenades, and Moko Jumbies. At the 1998 Carnival festival in Port of Spain, Trinidad, the Masquerade band "Red" designed by the Callaloo Company, and headed by Peter Minshall was another example of the introduction of African rituals to Trinidad Carnival. "Red" is a symbolic colour in African Baptist Orisha sacred celebrations. In addition before the band crossed the stage at the Savannah, the opening scene centred around a female character who with the use of instruments, went through sequences that were intended to make the site sacred as is customary in African ceremonies..

Riggio (1998) described Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago as "a way of life rather than a festival" (p. 7), and for those who think that way, carnival is a year long ritual. But for many people in Trinidad and Tobago the Carnival ritual starts just after Christmas and continues until Ash Wednesday, while for many mask makers, designers and planners it begins long before that date. Indeed some large band leaders start their routine by going into hiatus on Ash Wednesday to reflect on the previous Carnival, to rest, rejuvenate and to start plans for the following year.

The Carnival process runs the gamut and differs for each member and depends on whether the participant is a mas' designer, mas' maker, mas' maker/performer, performer or spectator or any combination of these activities. During this process individuals can become involved and contribute to the process at any level. There is a hierarchy within the Carnival band structure (see Figure 36). This consists of the individuals such as the King and Queen of the band and the section leaders or the junior King and Queen. These parts usually go to individuals who are identified by the band leaders as someone who can pay for the costume or someone who is part of the band's organizational committee. This process was described by Lovelace (1979) in his novel *"The Devil can't dance"* where he describes Cleothilda's mas ritual.

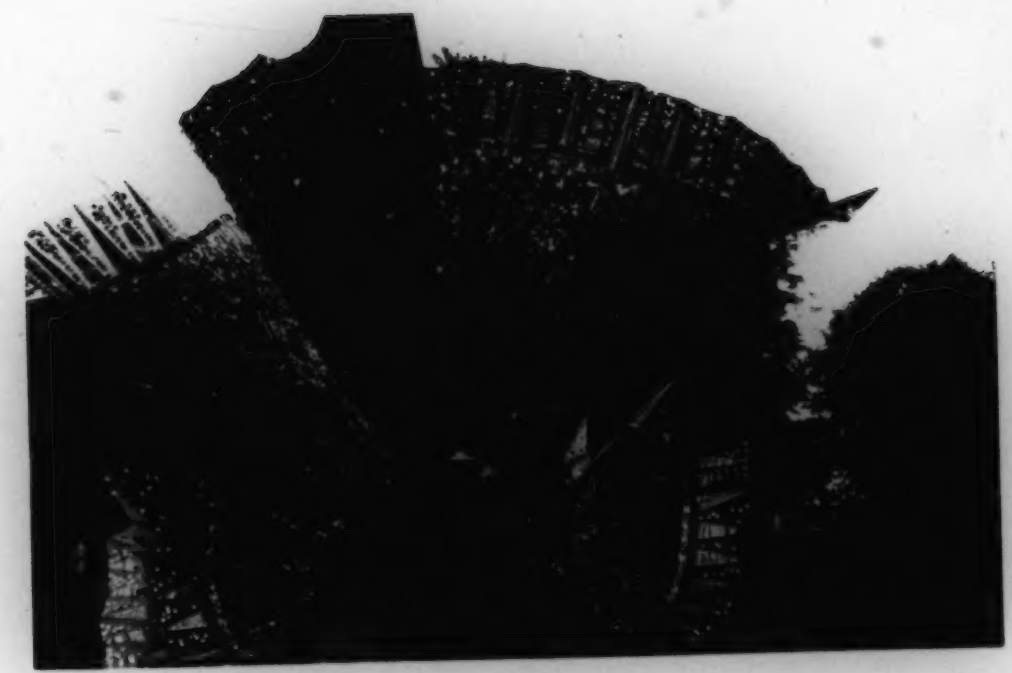
> She had already made her journey to the steelband tent, a few streets farther up the [Laventille] Hill, to view the sketches of the masquerade costume the band would appear in for Carnival, and had given her decision: she would portray the queen - queen of the band - though the Hill was by now certain that she would never

> appear in any other costume; for the Hill knew that it was not only a habit - she had been playing queen for the last eleven years - nor that she could afford it; the Hill knew what she knew: that to her being queen was not really a masquerade at all, but the annual affirming of a genuine queenship that she accepted as hers by virtue of her poise and beauty . . . .(Lovelace, 1979, p.32).

Once the scores are tallied, the road marches, band of the year winners and Carnival monarchs are announced and celebrated, they are set aside almost as quickly as those Carnival costumes that were doffed or discarded. It is a common site to see parts of costumes littering the streets or large expensive pieces in the ***Savannah*** after the parade. One has to imagine that they were left because they interfered with wearers ability to jump up or have a good time.

The traditional practice of destroying the large Carnival costumes (Tallant, 1948) is rarely done today. This is especially the situation in Trinidad style Carnival because firstly costumes are very expensive to make and secondly since the event is now observed in many other places throughout the world the costumes are taken on travelling exhibitions to many of these places. The extravagant costume **"*Dis Is We Carnival*"** a Tedda Eustace creation from the band, Botay, by Barbarossa (conversation with Afong, March, 1998) was recently seen at the " 2nd World Conference on Carnival", Hartford, Connecticut (see Figure 50).

Figure 50. "Dis is We Carnival" in the Quad at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, 1998. The images of traditional masquerading, the "sailor", "the robber" and the "jab jab" are seen on the wing-like structures. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*



For my participants Trinidad Carnival held various meanings, but they were all touched by this ubiquitous event. One cannot live in Trinidad and Tobago or for that matter any other part of the Caribbean and not be aware of Trinidad and Tobago's Carnival. Hill (1976) estimated that roughly "ten percent of the population is actively engaged in the street masquerade every year, as organizers, designers, builders, craftsmen, . . . musicians, . . . [and] revellers (p. 76) but this estimate has increased because in 1998 I noted that many more people were participating in Carnival. Others were able to watch the event from various vantage points as the Queen's Park Savannah, the streets of Port of Spain, San Fernando, Point Fortin, Chaguanas and many other towns and villages. For many years, television has provided continuous coverage of the events and this has increased the number who participate in the event.

One's experience with Carnival depended with ones close proximity, both physically and mentally, to the mas' camps. During the months leading up to Carnival Monday and Tuesday no one can escape the excitement of the event. The "pulsating rhythm" (Lovelace, 1979, p.68) of the steelband, and in addition the lyrics of ***calypso*** and ***soca*** tunes can be heard on the media daily. Added to this, carnival aficionados can visit the calypso tents, pan yards, and mas' camps nightly to get their fill of the sounds and sights of Carnival. This attitude underlies the spirit of Trinbagonians (a word coined and used in Trinidad and Tobago to denote someone from those islands) who live the Carnival spirit all year round (Riggio, 1998). Earl Lovelace (1979) shows this in his novel "*The dragon can't dance*" where he explores the lives of the people on Calvary Hill, Laventille who are consumed with carnival, and whose treatment of their carnival experiences are metaphors for their life. "The primary theme of . . . [the novel] is the remarkable resilience of poor people who learn to fashion out of their poverty sustaining cultural traditions" (Cooper, 1979).

Chapter 4

Participants' Pre-Canadian Carnival Experience

"Performances of ritual are distinctive phases in the social process,
thereby groups and individuals adjust to internal
changes and adapt to their external environment" (Turner, 1988, p. 158)

Their Pre-Canadian Experience

The Trinidadians and Tobagonians in my research described their early Carnival experiences which ranged from them being spectators to full participants. There were no non-participants to this interview. Some of the participants said that they did not play mas' in Trinidad and Tobago and they were just spectators. Some did not wear costumes, instead they wore "street clothes" and jumped up with their favourite masquerade band. The full participants either made costumes and wore them or wore ready-made costumes. In both cases they paraded in the masquerade bands.

The participants of this research recounted that their Carnival experiences held special meanings. Their experiences were gained through sensory encounters, seemed to vary and depended on their level of participation as well as other personal attributes. Attributes or factors that contributed to their experience included the individual's gender, socio-economic factors, ethnic origin, and religion.

Males' Experience

"I Did a Lot of Knocking About"

CCM2 recalled that in Trinidad, he lived in the Port of Spain suburb of Belmont close to Ken Morris. Morris was the quintessential mas'-man and an early innovator in

Carnival "who switched from moulding costumes of papier-mâché after World War II to melting down brass flower pots and working them into shields and breastplates" (Nunley & Bettelheim, 1988, pp. 108-109).

CCM2: "So I going to school every day and after school I going through Morris's yard. I watch him beating pan [tin], making new costumes. I am seeing all this, this is right next to Belmont Boys R.C. [School]. . . . Morris was a tinsmith. Morris used to make all the breastplates for all the historical costumes, he used to cast the first mould and then beat all the plates. . . . I did a lot of ***knocking about****. So after school . . . I would pass in this pan yard, . . . [I] would pass in by that mas' camp, and "Them Boys" [a steelband] down the road by Regal Street. I pass in by them , . . . and so you are seeing everything that is going on. And then by the time that I got older and started to go to college [another term for high school] and I had a bike. Well when Carnival season came , me and my brother, we would go to "Invaders" [a steelband group] and hear them beat at night. We gone by "All Stars" [another steelband group], we* ***lime*** *a bit, at the* ***pan yard*** *(see Figure 56). We used to make the rounds, so that was part of the thing, . . . so you waiting to hear the* ***bomb****. Every year they used to come, everybody beating this* ***bomb****. They don't start beating [this* ***bomb****] until mid-night. They don't want nobody to hear what their* ***bomb*** *is. . . . But, my exposure to Carnival is that it is something around me all the time, all aspects of it. You see what I mean and I always participated in it. I used to play with Karl Blackman and they, from D'Arceuil Lane from Day one. From Day one."*

J: What kind of mas' did you play?

CCM2: Ha! Ha! J'ouvert morning mas', a mas' called ***mud mas'*** *[with] Karl Blackman from D'Arceuil Lane.*

Walsh (1998) wrote an account of the long history of the contribution of the band from D'Arceuil Lane to J'ouvert morning mas'.

"That Was Our Robber: I Used To Love Them"

Some of the individuals that I interviewed recalled their encounters with the traditional masqueraders and the sailor bands. This may be because they associated with these masqueraders because they lived in the same community. They were able to get close to these masqueraders to learn and mimic their spiel.

CCM2: The other thing was that there was some costuming that was meant to scare children. Being a boy I was not really scared of them. And that was **Jab Jab** and **Jab Molassie**.

CCF1: I was seriously scared.

CCM2: And I realized that all that they wanted to do was to put the grease on me, or throw powder on me and I would just keep dodging. But the mas' that I liked and followed from Day one was robber. The robber used to quote Shakespeare, but they embellished, you know what I mean, and they would build in Shakespeare into this robber speech that they [were] coming out with. I used to love to follow robbers. 'Stop, stop, you mocking Pretender, your face like a bicycle fender'. That was their standard.

J: Stop, stop, what?

CCM2: 'Stop, stop, you mocking Pretender . . .'

CCF1 and CCM2: A robber always has a spiel to stop you with.

CCF1: Do you know who a robber is?

J: Uh huh.

CCF1: A robber is dressed in all these dark clothes, and this elaborate ten gallon hat with fringe and everything and they had a braggadocios [sic] kind of a spiel that they give.

CCM2: Because they'd want to get a penny or two from you.

CCF1: Yes, and then the crowd, because they would put on this performance . . . for some people and you threw some money into the middle or in the hat or something.

CCM2: Just like a street performance.

CCF1: It was a kind of busking. . . . That was our robber. I used to love them because they all had different speeches, spiels, but it was always nice to listen to. The other mas' I loved to look at was Indian because they used to make up their own language.

J: What kind of Indian are you talking about?

CC1F: Red Indians.

CCM2: They played mas' as Red Indians. . . . Just like the robber has a spiel, same way the Indian had a spiel. . . . and then the third one is sailor, the fancy sailor, because I lived in Belmont and they had a big side that used to come down Archer Street. You know what I mean. And the sailors they have a dance to go with their sailor thing. Whatever the current calypso was they would come down the road chipping with it while going to meet the band. You know what I mean. So those were the things that attracted me. The side of fellas coming from Regal Street, they come down from Archer Street, to go and meet the fellas down Industry Lane, to go up to meet the band. But you dress and you want to come out and see them because every year the head piece is different.

CCF1: Bigger and better. . . .

CCM2: Three of you coming down the road (he starts to sing) 'Who teach you to ***wine****, Pierrot, who teach you to* ***jump****, Pierrot, who teach you to [blank], Pierrot?" And the three of them going down the road. . . . And that is their prance while they going to meet the band. And if you only play so and look at them they would sprinkle powder on you. If you following them too much, they sprinkle talcum powder on you.*

"I Keep Playing the Pans"

Because the early steelband men had a disreputable image, parents tried to prevent their boys from joining the band. CCM15 and CCM27 recount their experiences as youths who wanted to learn to play the steel pans and the lengths to which they went to achieve that goal.

CCM15: My experience as a child during the Carnival time was somewhat different in that I was associated with people who actually played mas', [and people] who beat

steelband, if you understand what that was, and I was part of the activity. . . . My god-brother used to beat pan. Unfortunately back in the '50's Carnival did not have a good name because of the fighting and the violence and so on. So I guess most parents were quite concerned whenever their kids became involved in it.

CCM15: I had a friend . . . beating steel pan [see Figure 51] and . . . I used to hang out with him and I started beating the bass with him. When I moved to St James it was right around the corner from Esso Tripoli [steelband] and I used to hang out with the guys there.

J: How did you learn to play pan?
CCM27: Because of the work my father did, he was kind of strict. He worked with the government. He was a post man so he had to keep his head up high. Because, you know about postman work back home, he was not the mail carrier, he worked in the office, you know with stripes on the shoulders. He did not want me to play pan. But I used to go down to the pan yard during the day. In the day it is okay. But it is at nighttime that you are supposed to go because that is when we practice. But I go during the day when he is at work and at nighttime when I would go down the street. When I come home from playing the pan, he knows that I had been playing and he would lock me out [of the house]. But my mother would open the door for me, so I did not care. And that's how I got started. And when he realized that I was willing to play pan, he bought me an electric guitar. He wanted me to learn to play the guitar, he sent me to get guitar lessons and I sold the guitar. And I keep playing the pan. . . . I love the instrument. You know everybody saves for retirement, I don't because I know that this is my retirement. I am going to go back to Trinidad and play this for the rest of my life until I die under a coconut tree. .

Figure 51. As a rule one visits the pan yard late at night. In 1998 Exodus Steel Orchestra is seen at practice in their ***pan yard***, located in Tunapuna, Trinidad. Their fans sit on the grass and listen as the musicians go through the repetitive process of learning their pieces by ear as many do not read music. This is a very popular band so many gather to hear them. Exodus has been one of the finalists at the **Panorama** festivals many times. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

"It Was a Matter of Survival"

Another male research contributor outlined his experience about playing mas'. Although this experience also outlines the freedom that was afforded to males it is also important because in this instance he was also playing mas' on Carnival Monday to get spending money for Carnival Tuesday.

J: You never played mas' not even in Trinidad?

CCM10: Yes I played a ***Jab Jab*** *in Trinidad one time. It cost me four cents. Yes, you know that they used to have those four cents blue long time [ago]. You buy a four cents blue [a cake of blue] and . . . .*

J: Oh go back and tell me about the ***blue mas'*** *you played?*

*CCM9: That was a way for me to make a few pennies for Carnival Day, Carnival Tuesday. So I decided to invest in a four cents blue. So I wet it and mash it up in my hand and pasted it up all over my skin. Playing what you would call ah "***Pay the Devil***" [mas']. I made about six or eight cents from La Romain[6] to near Skinner Park[7], I walked from La Romain to Skinner Park playing "***Pay the Devil***". I made about eight cents. I went into this parlour or corner candy store and I said to this woman, "pay the devil". She take [sic] a bucket of water and throw [sic] it on me, wash out all the blue off a me. . . . So now I was bare back, bare feet, half wet and I have to walk back the five miles from Skinner Park to La Romain. I am too dirty to get in a taxi and I am too clean to walk the road like that. So that was quite an awkward situation to be in, But I survived. That was my first, last and never again.*

This is another experience of a young male who lived in close proximity to the mas' camps and got involved in costume making to earn money. His early influences also charted his professional part although he believes that it was an unwilling choice.

CCM36: I had great influences from band leaders like Harry Bassano, the late Jack Brathwaite Rudolph Corbie, Albert Moore. And seeing what these guys been putting out

there, I decided to start doing my own thing. And at the age of thirteen I started making costumes for bands.

J: Is that right?

CCM36: Yes.

J: How did you get started, did you just start to make costumes, were you approached, what did you do?

CCM36: Well I started making like helmets for war bands, which ahm, it was really the case of survival.

J: Uh huh..

CCM36: In order to make some sort of money. This is how I managed to get involved.

J: Did you hang out at the mas' camp to get involved or did somebody come and call you or did you tell them that you have some kind of talent.

CCM36: No, I used to pass and see the guys and them doing their thing and I would go home and then just start doing my thing.

J: Oh, is that right?

CCM36: Yep, and from then people start to see my work and they just come and ask: Could you make this and I would say oh sure. I never did it before but it is a challenge. And I figure, hey, I could and then that's the way I started. Nothing was never too hard for me to do. . . . It was just a matter of survival . . . .

I continued my interview for about another thirty minutes before it finally occurred to me that he was weaving a thematic expression throughout the discussion, so I asked the following question:

J: So, the way how you are talking about survival, if you did not have to survive you would not have been doing this, is that what you are saying?

CCM36: Aha.

J: Is that right?

CCM36: Yes.

J: Ah, come on.

CCM36: I would have been doing something else.

J: Is that right?

CCM36: You see at an early age you start with this, and you just stick with it.

Females' Experience

The following excerpt reports that some people were reluctant to have their children play mas' because it was not socially acceptable. Parents were even more reluctant to have their daughters participate in masquerade bands, if they were not playing mas' themselves. There were however several Kiddies Carnival events where young boys and girls could participate. Girls would participate because the bands were very controlled and well chaperoned. Prior to the 1960's participation of 'young ladies' in some adult Carnival masquerade bands and steelbands was frowned on and this type of masquerading was left to ***Jamettes***. This was especially true during the turmoil years when the steelbands, in trying to rise from their impoverished and powerless state used "steelband men on steelband men" violence to establish supremacy on the streets and in a strange way, respect and adulation in their community.

One such steelband was Desperadoes (affectionately known as Despers) from Laventille. When I was a young person, I grew up fearing some individuals who played with Desperadoes Steelband because I believed that they carried out acts of hooliganism during Carnival. However someone in my research, from the area that was home to this band, had an opposite opinion and did not fear these young men. So while some outsiders feared the violence of the steelband men, many who lived among them daily held great respect for them. This also points to another concept with Carnival, people usually associate and form ties with the steelband or mas' band from their community or neighbourhood. This was the Trinidad Carnival experience of some research participants.

"We Knew All the Boys from Despers"

CCF5*: Oh yes, my mother was, well, what she did on Carnival was that she got us all*

dressed, she used to be on the corner of Duke and Charlotte Streets and that was where she used to go to watch all the bands passing up and down. And the only band that she allowed us to go and "jump up" with was Desperados. That was the only band we were allowed to go with because we were living on the Hill [Laventille Hill], so we knew all the boys from Desperadoes.

The following statements were more typical experiences of females who grew up in Trinidad and Tobago before the 1960s.

"My Brothers Could Jump Up and Be Liberated"

CCF1: *It is only that, the point I am making is that when we were kids, you know, especially for girls, my brothers could jump up in a band, and you know, and be liberated like that, girls it was a little different. It was, you know. But that is part of the evolution of Carnival, and of course, you know and our participation in it.*

CCF1: The first time I wore a costume and paraded in Carnival was in 1967. . . . because . . . I mean participating in Carnival is not only wearing a costume but I am talking specifically of wearing a costume was in 1967 and paraded in Carnival [Monday afternoon, and Tuesday]. I had been away and back and suddenly it took on, participating in Carnival took on another dimension for me and probably it is because I had been away and I was looking at it a afresh. I was looking at it as something very unique to our culture, that nobody else on the face of this earth had. That was integral and the very essence of their [Trinidad's and Tobago's] culture.

"I Never Played Mas' in Trinidad"

This is the experience of another individual who lived in the rural area of Trinidad.

CCF7: I never played mas' in Trinidad, never, never. I just looked on and we weren't even allowed in Trinidad to do such a thing [as play mas'] because we were brought up in a home with five girls and one boy. We had two other boys but they did not grow up at home. They were at my grand-mother's. We were very over protected and so you didn't play mas'.

J: Was that in the country?

CCF7: Yes, country side but we all went to school in the city, South [San Fernando]. So even though we did that [go to school in the city] we were still not allowed. You had a taxi take you from the home directly to the school and directly from the school back to home and so you just wouldn't even think [of playing mas']. They just would not even allow us to date somebody without having a sibling attend with you. So that is how over protected it was and so that is why we did not play mas' in Trinidad.

"I Had the Opportunity to Play Mas' since I Was a Child"

CCF16: I grew up and spent most of my life in St. Joseph. . . . I have been around mas' and have had the opportunity to play mas since I was a child. But I became involved as a teenager when I was drawn in to actually build costumes in a mas' camp in Arima and played mas' in the same band. . . .[I played] with one of the prominent bands in Arima, and I realized then that I had a deep interest in the costume end of it and that I had the desire to possibly design in the future.

Religion

Sometimes a person's religion affiliation and how they related their religion to their culture influenced if he or she played mas as a child.

CCM6: I did not used to play [mas'] as a little kid . . . . You know what I know about Carnival is what I saw . . ., as I said I never played, I never built costumes, . . .it is

what I witnessed. Like I went on the day of Carnival [and watched the bands] passing on the streets, I went to San Fernando. That's where the Carnival was in South Trinidad. So I always went there and I have seen all these things over the years. Because again my parents being of Moslem background did not support us into participating because it is not their belief in playing mas'. So my parents never played so we never did, but we all went and were lookers-on, we were spectators.

Their Realization

My disclosure and those of the other Trinidadian and Tobagonian research participants indicate that we all had varying cultural, social, economic and religious experiences and different levels of involvement in Carnival. At some stage we all seem to come to a common understanding of the meaning of Carnival. This may be because Carnival has received tremendous public acceptance due in part to the increased amount of middle class participation (Stewart, 1986). This acceptance was aided by strong government and private enterprise endorsement of the three elements of Carnival; namely calypso, steelband and masquerading. Their support was in the form of sponsorship for Carnival shows, steelband men and calypsonians; organized music festivals for the steelbands and the promotion of many cultural events. (Stewart, 1986) The elements of Carnival have also been incorporated in the school curriculum of Trinidad and Tobago and this has also contributed to its acceptance. Many see these "cultural symbols" (Manning, 1983, p. 4) as contributing factors to the pride that they have of their Carnival culture and share their experiences in the form of stories with others who would listen. The feeling is that their Carnival and the fun they experience are easy to share and can be easily adopted by others who just want to have fun or as is often heard in Trinidad "have a good time".

CCF7: . . .we did not play mas' in Trinidad . . . but you almost felt like you wanted to do it. When you came up here just because you needed to shore something of yourself and the only way to share it was to get involved with a group and participate that way.

CCM6: I did not play mas' as a kid . . . but when I came up here, as you get older, you know, you tend to try . . . you grasp back to your roots. You see Carnival as one of those things that you seem to identify with. It's a common thread.
CC20: I played mas' once or twice in Trinidad in the country in T-Shirts and Jeans in a Sailor Band, cheap. But coming from the country your parents did not really want to hear that you were going up to the city to play mas'. So it was not a normal thing. But when you are far from your home like this far removed , because you need to eat your own food, and party with your own music and wear costumes you get involve.

CCM27 has extended this relationship to include people outside of Edmonton's Caribbean community. As a pannist (someone who plays the steel pan) he plays at many functions where individuals marvel at the sound and he is often required to speak about the origin of his music.

CCM27: Yes, I have costumes that I made, I will get someone from the audience and dress them up. Teach them a song on the pan and the both of us play together.
J: Ah
CCM27: Yes I do that all the time. I do it at Heritage Days. I take maybe eight or nine people from the audience, teach them a song in five minutes and we play together. It is something I always do. So I get people involve. . . . I do my music for older people because older people do the travelling. That is just my way of thinking. They do not know where it is from. They think that it is from Jamaica. So what I did to make people not believe that it is from Jamaica. . . . I put two little flags from Trinidad and Tobago on my pans and . . . I usually give them a little history of the pan and tell them where it come from so they would not have that idea that it comes from Jamaica.
J: Yes.
CCM27: Yes, because very few tourist from Western Canada go to Trinidad so I try to let them know where it is from, I try to do my part. That is basically why I am here.

Whenever groups migrate they travel with knowledge of their celebrations,

language and belief systems. Trinidadians and Tobagonians who travelled to Canada during the large wave of Caribbean migration from the 1950s, '60s and '70s brought with them a deep knowledge of the "tenuous, subjunctive, paradoxical character" (Manning, 1983) of Carnival and an intense understanding of its infectious quality. Manning (1983) stated four characteristics of celebration which can be attributed to Carnival.

> First, celebration is performance, it is or entails, the dramatic presentation of cultural symbols. Second, celebration is entertainment; it is done for enjoyment-for the fun of it-however much it is tinctured, consciously and unconsciously, with ideological significance or pragmatic intent. Third, celebration socializes personal meanings, enacting them on the street, on the stage, in the stadium. There may be an admission fee, but there is no social exclusion. Fourth, celebration is participatory. Increasing professionalism notwithstanding, celebration actively involves its constituency, it is not simply a show put on for disengaged spectators (p. 4).

He went on to define celebration as being "a 'text,' a vivid aesthetic creation that reflexively depicts, interprets and informs its social context" (Manning, 1983, p. 6) and an event which embraces two modes; play and ritual. Play inverts the social order and leans towards licence, whereas ritual confirms the social order and is regulated. "The two modes are complementary as well as contrasting, and the tension between them gives celebration much of its piquancy and power" (Manning, 1983, p. 7).

The Caribbean immigrants assimilated into Canadian society and became part of the country's multicultural mosaic. Bodnar's analysis of immigrants is that while all of their traditional life is affected by their new home they "do not hesitate to draw upon their past belief and practice it in some way that would facilitate and render intelligible their new life and condition" (Bodnar, 1985, p.185). It is not surprising then to understand that, when the Federal Government encouraged ethnic groups to organize cultural events to celebrate Canada's centenary, the Caribbean immigrants embraced the idea of holding a "one-time" only "Caribbean Street festival"(Foster, 1996, p. 252) in Toronto. However the parade was so successful that it continues to-day (1999) and has spawned other

Carnival parades in cities such as Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver and Edmonton. Unlike the celebrations in Trinidad and Tobago, the Carnival that is celebrated here takes place in the Summer months as the weather is more conducive to an outdoor festival of that nature.

The University Environment in Edmonton

"They Just Wanted to Share Their Culture"

The West Indian Society , a club at the University of Alberta was quite active in the early 1970s and in this respect they sponsored West Indian Week, steelband recitals, "Teach in on the Caribbean", West Indian plays, Caribbean film festivals and exhibitions of West Indian arts and crafts. (The Gateway: Tuesday, February 27, 1970, p. 3; Tuesday, March 2, 1971; Tuesday February 1, 1972, p. 3)

CCM20 stated that a pioneer group of West Indian students started the West Indian Society in 1966. CCF7 recalled that when she attended the University of Alberta in the early 1970s there was a small group of students from the West Indies who met at West Indian House at 11126 - 87 Avenue, Edmonton. The group was small, and with a few other West Indians in Edmonton at that time they met to share their feelings and exchange information from their individual countries.

CCF7: . . . in 1971 there was a West Indian group at the University. . . . They got together [in] a small group. They had a West Indian House and everybody would get together and send greetings to Trinidad and . . . so they decided that they would have a group participate at the Klondike parade. So the Klondike parade was a good way to expose the culture there. . . . It was everybody from the Caribbean there, everybody was there. Again they looked for any kind of contact from home. So they stuck together really closely and everybody was involved, all the different groups, islands, they were just like family, happy to meet somebody from closer to home. Anyway so they put out a band in

1971, and it was a little band and the music, they used a steelband, there was just one steelband. Again from that small group anybody who could play something got in there.

There is evidence that other non-Caribbean Canadians got involved with the group. Their extravagant costumes and the fun-loving attitude of those involved were some reasons why others got involved.

CCF4: West Indian parties were notorious for great fun and my girl friend and I went to a lot of them and I met my husband there. My interest in Carnival did not really start until I heard about it from him and his family. [They said:] 'you have to come and see this, you have never seen anything like this, this particular event'. And the first time I saw Carnival, I, it is so hard to describe the feeling that I had, it was so intense. I could not believe this, we stood for hours watching and the whole time I was watching I kept thinking 'I have to find a way to get involved in this. This is exceptional, that people would spend so much time and energy in play, in having fun. And the music and the costuming . I mean I already liked the music and then all of a sudden we have this colour, this joy, and this fun. And after this I could hardly stand it. I wanted to get involved and after that we had Carnival in Edmonton. In 1976, I think it was the first year I had ever played.

CCF7 continued to outline the group's contribution to introducing Carnival to Edmonton and after most of these individuals graduated from university, they continued to participate in the parade. When they moved from the University setting they continued to make costumes in her backyard garage and the band became a family band. At this point the impetus for organizing the exchange of Carnival culture shifted from a community group to a family affair. They did this because as the mas' evolved, people had other commitments, interest waned and it became more difficult to get volunteers to produce the band.

CCF7: Way back in '71 when it was a new thing we had lots of help. Everybody was interested. They all come and they worked on the costumes together and it was fun. But of course now people think it is just like Trinidad. You order a costume and you just come and pick it up and pay. But way back we used to have a lot of help and because of a lot of help, we always had food and drinking and music and it was lots more fun to actually do the mas'. So that is how our neighbours got to know about Carnival too. By just asking questions and us telling them, 'this is why we are doing this." We kept on taking part in the Klondike parade.

J: As a family or the band?

CCF7: As a family band, well when I say family, the family was the core group and we invited all the other West Indians that we knew to come and participate. And we had like about fifty people each year, up to fifty. There was a year when we had over a hundred and that was the best. The year that we won the four prizes we had about eight large costumes. Everybody wanted to wear a big costume.

CCF7's account stated that they continued in this manner until her immediate family's participation declined and other bands continued to change and evolve.

CHAPTER 5

The visits to the Mas' Camps

Ethnography and Discussion

My first visit to Humming Bird mas' camp was at 3:20 pm on May 2, 1998 about one hour after my appointed time. It was a warm sunny day and the attached garage which looks onto the street was open in full view of the neighbourhood. Two men were working in the camp at that time, they greeted me and made a joke about my tardiness. Although this was early May, they were already building a large costume. One gentleman (CCM8) was working on a green, yellow and red costume while the other gentleman (CCM9) was stripping off a coating from some wire. I found out later that he was building the king and queen costumes for the Eastern Caribbean Cultural Association of Calgary.

Throughout the time I was there I noticed that as CCM8, the principal mas' maker, was working a youth in his early teens came into the garage and they spoke to each other on several occasions so I assumed that theirs was a father and son relationship. The youth did not seem to pay much attention to what the father was doing. On several occasions he asked to use the father's glue gun and put some glue on the back of a black disk and add it to a part of his car. The father continued to work and they continued to share the glue gun. CCM9 continued to separate the glue, tape and cane from the wire. I also picked up a piece of caned wire and followed what the friend was doing. I found out the cane was used along with the wire to give the costume the ability to bounce without bending or breaking. It is soaked in water to become malleable, then it is attached to the 12-gauge wire to gives the wire the spring-like capability.

On my first visit I was reserved and had to get over my initial fear but I soon found out that even CCM8 was as reserved about doing the interview even though I had told him that it would go well. I started to speak to him about my research and the Department

of Human Ecology and then he was more at ease. But it was apparent that I would have some difficulty getting him to speak about his mas' experience. I asked him my standard question and his response was to repeat my question in a pensive tone. He did not answer it but his friend intervened with the following statement.

CCM9: It must mean something to him . . . .

I then realized that I stood a better chance of getting an interview from the friend therefore I turned my tape recorder over to him. As I observed the work in the mas' camp I interviewed CCM9.

CCM8 continued to place some gold fabric on the costume and after moving it around he started to glue it in place to create a textured look. He was trying to fit this fabric into an almost semi-circular space (see Figure 18). This was the first time after a long while that I had been to a mas' camp, and I was amazed at the way in which the fabric was being laid down. I understood that he was trying to create a ruffled effect but I still felt that if the hot glue did not take well in some spots then those parts of the fabric could come loose. Consequently, if too many parts came loose the costume would come apart and this would have disastrous consequences especially if it occurred while the costume was on stage or in the street parade. Before I could complete my thoughts on his craftsmanship he remarked that he may have to remove the fabric because one side may have much more ruffles than the other. He continues gluing and I continue observing his process.

It was not long after this scenario that the mas' maker's wife (CCF10) returned home with the rest of the family. They unloaded the bags from the car and she eventually came to the garage. At this point we exchanged greetings then she looked on at what her husband was doing. He explained to her that he would have to remove the gold ruffled fabric. He said this as he applied the green trim around the edge of the costume. He also said that he would need some more green fringe made up soon. It appeared that his wife (CCF10) was responsible for all the work that was done on the sewing machine. She had

previously gathered many yards of eight inch wide satin material for the ruffled fringe and was now determining how much extra fabric would be needed for 80 inches of finished fringe. As she worked at getting the green fringe ready she told her husband that he would get a better ruffle effect with the yellow fabric if he were to machine gather the fabric before he glued it to the frame.

CCM8 continued to glue so CCF10 went to the cupboard to find a similar type of fabric. I saw that those cupboards were filled with fabric, sponge and other items used for making costumes. She ripped off from the bolt the piece of white fabric that she was interested in and after smoothing it out she sat at the machine and sewed three rows of gathering stitch about six inches apart. After she was finished sewing and gathering the fabric the husband saw the effect that she had achieved and he turned the frame to the backside and applied the white fabric. The two of them then critiqued the result and they both agreed that it looked better than the one that he had applied. He was still reluctant to rip off what he had done and said that he would put the gathers on one side and leave his ruffles on the other side. She then said to him that the different sides may not look good. I continued to observe this conversation, where both spoke softly about their position. It was obvious to me that if the mas' maker could get away with not having to redo the side he had completed he would have done so, but I believed that he was also going to run out of gold material if he pursued his objective. The work involved in having to gather all that fabric for a frame, which in my estimation was at least ten feet by six feet, did not disturb the wife either. She collected the left over gold material and proceeded to gather it. They applied it to the backside of the frame and when the husband saw the effect he was finally convinced and ripped out the fabric from the front side. Once all the fabric was gathered it was also easier to glue it down , so it was not long before the frame had reached a definite level of completeness. At this point he called the son who had been coming in for the glue gun to come and try on the costume. The son did not hesitate to try on the costume. This act surprised me because he seemed so disinterested with the whole process. We all admired the progress and as it was now more than three hours of interviewing I decided to leave but not before the friend suggested that I should interview his wife because she

would have a lot more to say on the subject. This I noted in my diary as a future contact that I could make.

CCF10 appeared to be doubtful about what I was doing. I believed that this skepticism occurred because they felt with a video I could be seen as "spying" on their production to report to other mas' camps. One of the cultures of Carnival is that the members of each mas' camp guard their productions from the members of the other camps. Their band's production has to be a surprise to the spectators and their competition. They were definitely only divulging information to my questioning but no more. For example they did not tell me that the band was having a band launching, a party where examples of the costumes would be displayed for the viewers to see.

When I found out about this I made the decision to immediately contact the another bands because I needed to observe this key process in mas' making. I was beginning to fear that I may spend too much time at this camp and miss the important events at the other camp. I made contact with the other camp and found out that their band launching was set for July, 1998. As you can see I was now more knowledgeable and as you can imagine the first thing I wanted to know was when their band launching was scheduled for. As that date was some time in the future I had sufficient time to complete my research at the first camp. The camp finished the costumes that they were making for the Calgary Carnival. I was in Calgary to see the event and the costumes were good enough to win first prizes in their categories.

I kept in touch with the first group when I got back from Calgary to find out when they were going to resume the mas' camp activities. Once informed I kept going to the camp to do my research. I videotaped much of their final process. They made their costumes early because the whole family was taking a vacation in July and costumes had to be basically completed before they left. I believe that the following was my final experience before I finally decided to leave that camp.

Today was a difficult one for doing research. One conflict that I am having is trying to cover the event as an independent observer. The reasons for this [difficulty] are

that once you are seen at a mas' site the first assumption by everyone is that you should be playing in the band. I am having so much problems in that respect. I felt that it would be easy to purchase costumes and have it for my own use. One person got upset. Her own words were that we are not making costumes to have them hung in some place but we could make them after. I doubt this because fabrics and enthusiasm may be hard to muster after the event. I believe that it will be difficult to try to do research and wear a costume at the same time.

I had this conflict because I wanted to purchase two costumes for my own use. I eventually had to purchase them with the understanding that I got someone to wear them on the day of the parade. It was then that I understood the importance of participation to them. The objective was to have all costumes worn at the parade and their views definitely conflicted with my own. I was happy that I was winding down my research there. I felt I had learnt from this experience and would use it to prepare me for my next site investigation. I report on my opening experience as follows:

My visit to the [next] mas' camp today was different. I arrived at CCF7's house at 1:30 p.m. [on time]. I knocked on the front door and a young man answered (the door still closed). I asked for CCF7 and was told that she was not there, but that I could find CCF4 in the garage. I went to the garage passing by the side of the house. When I got to the garage I was greeted by CCF4 who said that she was there alone and that CCF7 had gone to the store to do some shopping as it was her boys' birthday. I offered to assist with some of the sewing while I put on my video. I was introduced to CCF4's husband who came in while I was there. He helped with things such as making sure that the equipment was working. For example as I was working on the serger the thread broke. It turned out that a small part was broken which caused the thread's tension to tighten. He immediately started looking for tape, and glue to put it back together. His wife CCF4 eventually fixed it with some adhesive tape.

CHAPTER 6

Sharing Experiences with Carnival Costumes

"It's good to think of Carnival as a day out and a chance to let your hair down, but for us it's more than that because it celebrates our roots and provides us with a way of developing our culture." (Thomas, 1987, p. 44)

Thomas (1987)suggests that for immigrants Carnival is much more than an opportunity to have fun and enjoy the comradery of those who come our to participate in the event. It is an opportunity to share, reaffirm and transmit our culture. Some people in this analysis have been introducing the Trinidad-style Carnival to their children since the 1970's. According to one parent she realized on a return visit to Trinidad that Carnival was a very important feature of her culture. She had been living in England for some time and returned to Trinidad in 1967.

CCF1:. That was integral and the very essence of their [Trinidad and Tobago's] culture. It is a very unique thing.

In Montreal CCF1 family got involved with the Carifest [Montreal's version of the Cariwest festival] celebrations held there and they felt that they were able to use the festival to exemplify their Carnival experiences.

CCF1: The experiences that would be common between us [husband and wife] then, [we] having come from Trinidad, they have no clue. Okay. It is in the story-telling . . . that they know about these things. And if there wasn't a forum like Carifest, like the parade these would remain as only stories. We talk to them about Uncle Monty, you know. At our

house and we [are] making costumes for this contest, and this band, and this parade in Montreal, and these [are the] sketches that they remember. Now that they have grown up here [it] is Cariwest that they make those connections with when we recount what we did to them. It makes it live and to what ever extent that they want to participate in it and make it a reality for them and a part of their experience, there is a forum for it.

Their children participate in the event to varying degrees. The first daughter who has helped at the organizational level, has not worn a costume in Edmonton's event but has gotten her husband to wear a costume and participate in the parade. It was revealed that he has been a Cariwest spectator for some time. The second daughter has been the most active while the son continues to provide average support.

CCF1: She has made costumes, she has worked at the festival office, she has brought her friends in and I think that she is the one who has worn a costume most often. [My son] . . . is just on the fringe, he has helped a lot with the festival, marshalling it . . . and [volunteering at jobs] on the actual grounds. He has never worn a costume, never even shown any interest or anything but he has been there egging on and that sort of thing. So it is the basis of making these stories of our youth and our upbringing . . . real for them [that they have been encouraged to participated].

This approach to introducing children who were born in Canada to Trinidad-style Carnival seemed to work in many cases. Both the method of transmittance and the level of acceptance varies from one family to the next. The level of acceptance also depended on the attitude of the youths to the whole event. The youths who were interviewed said that they were happy that there was a summer event that they could enjoy and relate to, one where they see that the majority of participants have similar musical tastes, and party in a similar manner. There seemed to be some variance when it came to actual acceptance of the culture as theirs. It appeared that the older Caribbean Canadian youths got the more they had internal conflicts as to how they viewed this Cariwest festival.

Parents relate that when their children were younger they were able to get them to participate in the parade. However as their children got older some lost interest, some would help on the sidelines, and some saw it as being too community oriented. In some cases though once these young adults have their own families, they sometimes returned to the event and this was probably because they wanted to introduce some "culture" to their children. It may be also the same cycle re-occurring where it was easier to get younger children to participate in the parade. The fear is that if youths and young adults do not learn the tradition of making the costumes, the art and skill associated with producing the costumes may not be passed on to the next and subsequent generations. Do young adults and youths see this Carnival celebration as being important as an expression of their culture? There was some acknowledgements by the older people that the young enjoyed participating in the Carnival.

Younger Children Enjoy Playing Mas'

CCM2: I would give you an example again. CCF40's daughter. CCF40 put the child in costume and the child used to play major pieces with Humming Birds. Okay, this kid learn to dance a costume, loved it, you know what Ah mean. The family moved away to . . . [a big city]. You know what she begged to do the first summer that she was in the . . . big city? . . . . To come back to Edmonton, so that she could play mas'.

CCM2: And I have some terrific shots of where you can see kids, ah say 'but this little fellow grow up in Frederick Street, he know what going on.". And you see some kids they have never been anywhere but you can see that there is some kind of transference of culture because you see them behaving just like a kid who is on Frederick Street. And they have never been there. So that where they got this grounding from must have been right here.

CCM2: But I begin to see through the Carnival that more of them participate. That this

flowering seems to occur. Whether it is because they are imitating the elders they see playing mas' on the streets or the fact that they get into a costume, you know what ah mean, it is a very liberating type of participation.

Participating Strengthens Family Relationships

This was the opinion of a young adult who believed that the festival was useful to the strengthening of culture. One sees that by her choice of words that she identifies with the family's participation in the event from the origin. The event has even more meaning to her as it is practical evidence of the strong family bonds. It is an event that the family can do together and, and through it, maintain family and cultural bonds.

CCFY17: So we got involved that way and it was just basically playing mas' at first, and then slowly through the years we started to participate more when Mom started becoming more involved with taking part in the individual costumes. Though [in the past] we had to help with the input, with ideas, we started to help more with the costumes and started that way and then Mom went into the individual costumes and with our family, anything one does we always follow suit. There is the tree, but there are always the branches helping. So there is always the helping hand, whether or not my brother and I help, we always helped, with support and what not. That's basically what it is. Like I said that we have been away from this for a while and Mom wanted to start back again, well we come back again.

I probed her further by actually asking her if she ever played mas' because I wanted to know exactly what her level of commitment entailed.

CCFY17: Oh yes, yes, I played mas' in Calgary many times with my mom, and I played

in Edmonton, I thoroughly enjoyed playing mas, I think that is the best time. After you have done so much with the costumes to sit back and enjoy that day, the costumes and you feel that you have gotten involved. You are just covered with just your culture, your people and just have a reminiscent of all that . That is how it is.

I visited Humming Bird mas camp on many occasions to tape the costume making and interview individuals who were at the camp while I was there and to track down leads. This mas' camp made costumes for two bands. During the month of May they made the King and Queen costumes for the band "Fantasia 2001" which was presented by Caribbean Community Council of Calgary. Following the Carifest parade the camp concentrated on preparing their own costumes for the band "Mythical Africa: The new generation". Although many costumes were being made there and even though the family was under a tighter constraint because they were taking a two week holiday to attend a family function a few weeks before the Cariwest parade. In most instances, only CCM8 and CCF10 were making the costumes the majority of times when I visited the camp. On July 10, 1998 when I visited the mas' camp CCM8 was working feverishly with wire, cane and foam to create the frame of the female individual's costume while CCF10 worked at gluing down gold rick-rack braid onto the edge of the hats that the floor maskers would wear. The intent was that they would finish the framing of the female individual's costume so that she could fit it on the next day. Although there were many hats to embellish she was very careful to glue the braid so that all were as similar as possible. As I watched I could not help but be taken aback at the amount of work that they had ahead of them. So I asked the wife if any of the bigger children helped with making the costumes.

J: Do any of your children help you make these costumes?
CCF10: The big one, the second one would give him ideas and cut out things [pointing to the head pieces],
J: Is that right?
CCF10: He is very good. You will speak to him, to them.

[She wanted me to interview the children]

J: Is he into design you say?

CCM8: Yes, he is. He does draw and stuff. He [is] telling them about bringing out this band . . . .

CCF10: He wants to build, in fact he build a gum machine for school.

CCM8: It is he [who is] telling me about bring out the Greek Mythology [band].

J: Do you think you would give him a bigger part in it?

At this point the wife laughed but he ignored her and continued to say the following:

CCM8: Why yes, sure, but I ain't going to push anything down their throat, if they want to it [that] is fine.

They continued to work in silence, she at gluing, sticking and cutting and he at attaching foam sheeting to the frame of part of the costume. In the background a soft, soothing steelband rendition of the tune "Like a bridge over trouble waters" was being played over a portable stereo system. At this point both back and front of the hat were edged with the gold rick-rack braid and the wife told me that she would now add a piece of elastic so that the hat would fit everybody. She demonstrated that the row of braid in the back only went to the part of the hat that sat above the forehead. The remainder of the hat would not be seen by the public. I also learnt that they now make the hats with a plastic material as it was more durable than the Bristol board, which they used in the past.

CCF10: Usually they used to use Bristol board but when you sweat and sweat, it can't take the heat and sweat so it used to get out of shape.

At this time a phone call came in to remind CCM8 that he had to come to practice his calypso. We started to talk about the times when we spoke and others did not understand our English dialect. I point out that this was even more so when we sang the calypso. I asked him if he sang his calypso with the assumption that there may be non-West Indians in the audience. At this point he joked that there will be people in the

audience who may need a translator. We all laughed and he continued:
CCM8: Because it have some people from my work who coming to hear the calypso, they say they can't miss that. They coming to hear me sing.

One other son came into the garage and examined the work that was done. Shortly after another son came in but he did not stick around. The ***liming*** continued with small talk and heckling and when the music was finished no one remembered to put on another tape. They accused me jokingly, of being a spy for another Carnival group. Even though the liming continued the two workers continued at a steady pace. The talking and the conversation immediately shifted to what we believe was taking place in Trinidad.
The parents call out for their son, CCFY29 so that I could interview him but he did not respond. When he did come back out there was no discussion about helping but the parents seemed anxious for me to talk with the youngsters and the mother said to him:

CCF10: Oh you come back, she want to talk to you and you run away.

After some discussion with the parents and CCY29 we decided that the young people should get together to do the interview right away so it was set up.

I had a spirited interview with young people wherein they outlined their concerns about the festival. Most of the youths were not about to take ownership of the event as it was presented to them. Throughout the discussion they referred to the Cariwest Festival as something that belonged to their parents' generation. In addition, the youths felt that they were Canadians, not hyphenated Canadians and therefore the parade they wanted to be associated with, was Klondike Days. When asked if they shared any information about Cariwest with their school friends, they responded that they shared the experience with Black students from their school. The youths said that although they grew up around the festival they were not as into it as their parents.

CCMY31: Like . . . not many people know about it. But , I think, like I mean, I don't find,

. . . I do not have any interest in it. I will go and participate in it , not wearing a costume, but I will be there, . . . I will pay to go and see the show and that stuff, that's about that.

They had their reasons why they felt that the festival was not popular with them and other Canadians.

CCYM29: I think that the reason why we are not as into it is because we are brought up here in Canada and we go to school here and the kids in school don't know nothing about it.. Like, but I think that if you guys want it to get bigger you have to involve those people and educate them about it. Make them understand what it is, because until you do that , it will be small, the way it is, you know. How it is now.

One youth in this discussion seemed to imply that it was the first generation's responsibility to have a show that could attract the Canadian adults and youths from the non-Caribbean community. They also saw it as the first generation's responsibility to generate interest and to sustain the Carnival celebrations that are held in Edmonton.

CCYM31: You have to go public, with those kids if you are going to get them involved with what you guys are doing. You have to mix their thing, like what they like to do with what you guys are doing, you know what I mean.

J: When you say those kids, who are you talking about?

CCYM31: I am talking about Canadians in general.

J: Are you talking about White Canadians, Black Canadians?

CCYM31: All, they are all Canadians, they think the same way we think, you know what I mean. Because they are brought up in the same schools and stuff and they are going to think the same way. Black, Chinese, whatever. If you want us to get involved you are going to have to do it around us people, Edmonton people. Like the main thing in Edmonton, like what they do. Like me if I were running this thing I would make it, I would have the Cariwest but have it as a separate part, but try to include it in, say like, Klondike Days. Like have a three day thing, like around the same time when everybody is

doing the [Klondike Days] Parade.

One youth felt that if the Association were to have a festival that catered to all other cultures then the Caribbean people would slowly loose it.

CCYM30: And then if we kind of . . . [make] it big with the other races, like the White people, the Whites, if we . . . [make] it big with them, then we will just slowly loose it. Like five years from now Black people would have nothing to go to again. They would have to come up with their own thing again.

This dialogue went on with the two distinct views emerging. The lone female youngster kept comparing the Edmonton event to the Caribana event that was held in Toronto because she had spent many years in that city. At one point she added that one of Edmonton's problems is that it did not have as large a Black population as Toronto and that every city had to adapt their Carnival to the social and cultural conditions of the city. The basis for her argument was that cities like Toronto and New York emphasize different themes in Carnival. This assertion was also made by Manning, (1989) who claimed that costumes play a prominent role in Toronto's Caribana, calypso and its hybrid soca music are most noticeable in the festival that is held in Brooklyn, New York while the steelband is popular in Britain's Notting Hill Carnival.

CCYM31 felt that the organization did not run the festival properly. He believes that Calgary's festival is also poorly organized and in his opinion the City of Edmonton should be more involved in helping Cariwest with putting on the parade.

CCYM31: Like I think the only reason it [Caribana] come so big in Toronto is because, one, the population is bigger and two, they make it part of their city . . ., you have no city involvement [here] except the cops on the road. That's it! But you do not have the big people coming out to it. You know what I mean. And even if they do, the shows are so badly organized that they do not look at it in the same way. And then next year they do

not want to come back. It was the same thing when we went to Calgary, . . . the same problem. And you don't have the proper people in authority.

His friend, CCYM32 who recalls seeing the festival for the first time at age seven or eight, had his reasons for liking the parade. He remembers that it was a different type of parade with a distinctive outcome.

CCYM30: I used to go with my aunty . . . to see the [Klondike days} parade and it was go, go, go. Also at the Klondike Days parade there were so many, like white people and everything. We had not been to other parades. When we went to this [Cariwest] parade there were so many more Blacks so we viewed this as more like Black Carnival, a Black parade. So then every year we just kept going. . . . We thought that most of the Black community was there in those days. . . . We liked it because we saw our cousins there all the time and we could go and meet them there."

He believed that the festival was important because it promoted Caribbean culture to other black people. The festival did more for the Black community because it was a reason for them to get together to reinforce and transmit the culture and because it can be valuable for educating the young and other Blacks. He surmises that this festival can get young people enthusiastic about their culture. Some others who participated in the research shared this sentiment. They felt that many second generation Caribbean youngsters had not been back 'home" to experience the West Indian culture. They are immersed in the culture of other Canadians daily, so the chance to have an out-door event where the senses are inundated with Caribbean food, music and language provides them with a respite from the regular occurrences.

CCYM30: I think that it is better for the black culture too. Like sometimes some try to educate others and this is another way to say to the younger ones 'like this is the way your culture is. It can create some enthusiasm about your culture, you know.

At this point the Father whom I had a very difficult time getting to talk about the event got into the conversation. He suggested that the youngsters should get involved in the Association and the event because they appeared to have their ideas about how the festival should be organized.

It appeared that the potential of this festival to act as a medium for transferring culture was not discussed in this family. I developed similar impressions from discussing this topic with other family groups. They were therefore all hearing each other's opinions on this subject for the first time. The father was very passionate about the Carnival festival and this was recognized in an earlier interview although he could not articulate this and it was left to his buddy to do so. My question to him as to what the Carnival event meant to him was reported as follows:

CCM8: What it means to me, no I can't answer that. I just like doing it.

His buddy who was more conversant said:

CCM9: He never quite articulate the meaning to himself. That is why he is saying he don't know what it means to him, I think it means more to him than a lot of us. In a sense whether anybody is playing [mas'] or not he makes costumes. So it has to mean a lot to him. And he has been doing it for many, many years. What happen now CCM8, . . .[referring to his friend]. It probably means a lot more to you than it does to them because like he encourages a lot of people who would not have played mas'. He encourages them to play mas. And he makes practically all the costumes. . . . Well if it did not have a deep meaning to you, you would not be doing it".

There was an obvious difference in opinion between the parents and their children about the meaning of the festival and other problems emerged as the discussion continued. The young female (CCFY32) said that she was too embarrassed to wear a costume. She played mas' in Toronto until age twelve but she would not do so now.

CCFY32: I was very close to this one family, my cousins, and they were really into it. Like my aunt had a big mas' camp so there were lots of kids there. . . . I did that [played mas'] until I was nine, ten, or eleven. I stopped when I was twelve and I started going just to watch and participate. I liked it but I would rather not dance. Like maybe in the future I would choose to go in it for one year, but on a continuous basis, I do not like it. Personally, for me, in this city I would not feel comfortable putting on a costume. I would feel foolish. I honestly would feel like a fool.

The conversation between the adults and the youngsters also pointed out that the young people felt that no one passed on important information about the community to them and no one seemed to solicit their opinions. It was difficult to determine at what age youngsters should enter as full participants and contributors. They participated fully when they are young but decline to wear a costume and take part in the parade after a certain age. The father (CCM8) continued to insist that their input was welcome.

Another heated discussion followed where the younger generation demonstrated that they were displeased with the existing organization.

CCM8: All what you guys are saying are points well taken, but when they are having meetings and public meetings, you guys should come to it and give your input.
CCYM31: When did we ever know that there was a meeting, that there is a public meeting.
CCYF32: And when should we think you guys are going to take us seriously.
CCM8: I am going to let you know . . . the next time [there is a meeting] and you will come and the same way you are talking here and giving information . . . in fact they [the executive of the Association] . . . [is] open to suggestions. They want suggestions.
CCYF32: You say that they are open to suggestions?
CCYM31: You see, but they are the wrong people.
CCYM29: Exactly.
CCYM31: That's what I am saying, the people who manage the whole thing, they know

nothing, they have no clue about what they are doing.
CCM8: No, don't say so. Because I hear you say they never involve White people, they involve all those kinds of people already.

There was also a lack of clarity among the young people in this family about what resources were available to help young people who wanted to compete. In addition the youngsters did not know or were afraid to question if their forms of music or their approach to the festival was acceptable.

As I observed this debate I felt the youngsters believed that they had cultural transference issues that were not being addressed by either their parents or other members of the Caribbean community. As a result of these conflicts they were powerless, made minimal contributions and avoided the process as best as they could. Based on what the youngsters were saying, I believe that they were varying beliefs as to the type of change that should occur. Some did not want to abandon the festival entirely instead but to be more involved and change the theme. It was not clear if they gave much thought to the fact that they would need to have a viable product. Others saw the introduction of other genres of music as a move away from what was traditional.

CCYM29: The thing is if you get it so , like, we start to make it over, like our generation, you know, it would change. Because we like, . . . we would go up on this big truck, we would probably . . . not even make costumes. We would probably just play the "rap" music and have the people just dancing on the road.
CCYM30: Who needs rappers, you need to have your own [music].

From this statement it seemed that the music was more important than the costuming. In addition, this was the first mention of "rap" music. Throughout my thesis I have written about genres of music that were associated with calypso.

When the discussion shifted to financial support for young members, the mother pointed out that the Association's president had said that the young people could have

their own music as funds were available to help defray their cost. As this point the youngsters said that they would get involved in 1999. One other male member of the group became even more animated. They were excited at the prospects of getting involved and started planning how they could attract other people. But another youngster started to show some concerns about this new shift in power and the ensuing responsibility.

CCYM31: Let's say you do it, and someone next year does that, . . . and our generation who is supposed to take after them and do their cultural thing, We are going to go off with a different cultural thing. And that is what I am saying?
CCYF30: But this is what I am saying, it just happens like that.

I visited the mas' camp on the following Friday to find that the situation had changed slightly. There was someone cutting plastic fish for another costume and the principle mas' maker was in an upbeat mood. All the frames were covered with blue and silver "swans down" fabric. His queen's costume was in the final stages of preparation with only the "seasoning" to be added. The term "seasoning" is used by another mas' maker to mean, the extra embellishing that is added to the costume to give it that final look. Once all the pieces were put together I got a better idea of the size of the costume and could not help but wonder if it would be difficult to jump-up in it or to carry it.

The costume was so large and high that the assemblage could not de done in the garage. Parts of the costume for the female individual were also framed but they were not assembled so I could not really get the full picture of what it looked like. About ten minutes after I got there another male individual arrived; he sat around, talked and admired the costume but did not do much to help. He was one of those who just came over to lime and check out the progress of the work that was under way. The three men inspected the assembled blue costume to see if all side pieces were balanced with their counterparts. The pieces were adjusted accordingly so that they looked visually aligned. CCM8 felt very pleased about the work and the progress he had made and at this point he had no doubts that he had a winning costume.

Upon questioning, CCM8 informed me that his wife CCF9 would be wearing the

queen's costume. He then surprised me by saying that I should go to the basement to see the king's costume. During my previous trips to the site I had seen no indication or heard no talk about a king's costume. In addition, I remember that I had said earlier that the group seemed to be running out of time at this point.

CCM8: You ain't see my man [the kings' costume]. I going to carry you downstairs to see the man just now."

We continued to look over the queen's costume and when this segment of the work was finished we all went down stairs to see what was being done. When I got to the basement I was astonished to see the sons actually busy with a large section of a costume (see Figure 52).

J: So this is supposed to be what now?
CCYM31: I don't know, where is that picture that we are working from?"
J: So you two are working on this costume all by yourself.

I really could not contain my astonishment.

CCYM31: Yes.

They produced the picture from under the large mask and showed it to me. What I saw was a grotesque black and white image from a magazine article entitled "Beauty? In all its Glory".
J: What is it?

The dad was quite excited as he explained to me that the teeth which measured about five to ten inches long were all made by his sons. I directed my next question to the boys as I continued to look over their work, even though their father was free to answer.

J: So do you like doing this?

CCYM31: It is the first time.

CCM8: They made, one time, I made something for their school, it was a beast head. So they had some practice. So what are you calling this, CCYM31?

CCYM31: I don't know, you told us to make it, I do not know what it is all about. I do not know the background behind it.

J: Oh you do not know the background behind it?

CCY31: No, he [referring to his father] just goes: 'Can you make this'"

The boys then demonstrate how the teeth are placed into the mask's mouth as we all looked on and admired the work.

CCM8: Well this is good for a first time.

CCYM31: I am amazed to see this, because the thing is . . . .

J: Did you all bend the wire and so forth?

CCYM31: No, no we used Styrofoam.

J: Oh, Styrofoam.

In retrospect I believed that I changed the direction of the conversation and possibly should go back to find what CCYM31 was about to say. Anyway I also questioned the young men to determine how much input they had in the making of this costume.

J: So whose idea was it to use the Styrofoam?

CCYM31: It was my Dad's.

J: Oh your Dad's, so you all are apprenticing with him?

CCYM31: Yes.

J: Oh, great.

The father then demonstrated his role as mentor by pointing out to his sons that the left side of the mask was lower than the right side. He then said to me:

CCM8: They ain't good at that yet, but all this they did by themselves. Well, they made the whole thing by themselves. They made teeth. You see I was going to pack the Styrofoam and pack it to make a mould and carve it, but they just, they just used a foam rod and pull it together. They just cut it and mount it on piece by piece. They did well.
J: And what is this piece made from. [I pointed to the eyes on the object] (see Figure 52).
CCM8: It is something like plastic bowls that I had used for a chandelier once. Now they are using it. They are going to put some flashing lights in there.

The father then told me that the other person (CCM24) who was helping in the garage was going to wear this costume. I realized then that the red fish motifs that he was working on were for this costume. CCM24 did not say much at this time.

CCM8: CCM24 is playing this mas'. This is CCM24's mas'. He is the king.

I could not help but remember how CCM10 had described CCM8 as someone who was always encouraging others to play mas'.

J: Is this your mas', CCM24?
CCM24: Yes.
J: Do you always play mas?
CCM24: No, this is the first year.
CCM8: But he likes it, so I think that he will be playing next year. He already ask me 'what he playing next year.'

This group has typified the feelings of many youths and adults. Many youths participated when they are younger, but as they got older they are reluctant to participate. It might be because they did not want to appear to be different from main stream youths.

Figure 52. "Beauty, in all its glory" an adaption by the young boys in the mas' camp in Mill Woods, Edmonton, in 1998. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Adults' Reaction to Festival

The adults on the other hand are very excited about the event, seem to get more self esteem through the exercise and hope to pass this feeling on to their children. I interviewed another group about this general topic of cultural transference and cultural acceptance.

CCYM14: When I was younger I used to participate in the parade and stuff and as soon as I was old enough to go through the whole thing [I was in the parade]. And it was a good chance because I had lots of cousins around my age and we used to get together and go in the parade and have lots of fun. . . . When I was growing up it . . . showed me some of the culture of Trinidad because I had not been to Trinidad . . . so that gave me an idea what it was like.

J: So what do you think about it now?

CCMY14: I think that it is good to have it so people can see what it is like. I still participate. . . . I can't this year but when I can I participate. I would like to take part in it.

J: What aspect of it would you like to participate in

I decided to find out what his Canadian friend knew about the event. The adult in the group was eager to show that the non-Caribbean person in the group had achieved some acceptance of the culture.

J: And CCFY15: have you seen it? Do you know What we are talking about?

CCF13: Tell her how you like the music.

J: What drew you to the whole event anyway, CCF15?

CCFY15: CCMY14 probably.

J: Did he speak to you about it, did he tell you anything?

CCFY15: Not really, I just went and watched on.

We continued to talk about the event. CCF13 said that she believed that the people

from the Caribbean were losing their culture. She said that this was perhaps due to the fact that the people from the Caribbean have lived away from the Caribbean for a long time. We also talked about what is needed to make the festival more acceptable.

CCF13: I think that you are right by saying that . . . in the [Calgary] Stampede you do not see a clear picture of the different groups and the different cultures, and the same thing is happening with the Klondike Days [Festival]. At one time a few years ago you would see different Caribbean [groups] participating. Now you do not see it anymore. I think the last few years there has been no involvement from the Caribbean or any other group. So I do not know how they will get everyone involved again, but there has to be some way to encourage participation, . . . getting the larger society to participate and learn more about the culture. . . . [P]eople lead such busy lives these days. You know they do not have time and they do not want to make time to commit themselves. Like if you would talk to the younger kids they would say 'Oh, I would love to take part but . . . [I] do not have the time.'

I asked CCYF15 about her opinion on this discussion .

CCYF15*: Well, why not [have it on] . . . Heritage days as such. That's on every year with all the different countries and so on. Its a good way to see I guess not only Trinidad but all the different countries.*

I understood from her statement that it should remain within the Trinidad Community at the Heritage Days Festival[8]. As the conversation continued we talked more about ways that were employed in school to teach about other cultures within a multicultural framework. Then CCFY15 made an interesting comment.

CCFY15*: I think having a couple of days in school where everyone can present their culture is a good idea. . . . Once people get started about talking about their culture they are not usually shy about it. . . . My parents are both Irish and we go to the Irish Pub and*

participate in the Irish Booth on Heritage Days, and things like that. And I guess we have always had St. Patrick's Day. So that was kind of the day when we got to show our stuff at school. I used to do Irish dancing at school, my mom used to bring Irish ginger bread and give it to everybody. And that was kind of like our day, whatever, but I guess you do not have like a Caribbean Day.

J: When you were younger CCM14, did you ever speak of this [the Cariwest Parade] to your friends.
CCMY14: No, not really, like most of my friends, like I had a couple of my friends who I would tell that I would be in the parade but other than that, not really. I kind of kept it separate. Lots of them would see me on TV and such and they would say 'I saw you on TV' and I would say 'My God', other than that I would not tell anybody.
J: Why?
CCMY14: Oh, I do not know, like it really never really occurred to me. Like it was kind of really a separate thing. Like it just seemed that way. Like I had friends in school and then when I was with my family, like it was kind of different, you know. Like it is just, right, I did not talk to my friends about it.
J: All right, so to you it was just kind of a family thing that you do.
CCMY14: Yes.
J: A family tradition.
CCMY14: Yes not that I would not involve people now. Like I think that is the way I felt about it when I was young, but not really anymore. I think the whole point is to get other people to see the culture. So I mean you need to involve other people too.

Another parent and mas' maker felt that it was time for the second generation to show some initiative and become involve with learning the art of making the costumes. She doubted if that would ever happen. She also doubted if they would miss the event if it were to discontinue. Her children are all boys and maybe as boys they feel additional peer and other pressures to conform to the dominant culture. They may feel that they must be

part of the dominant culture or they will be isolated an considered as different.

CCF7: Get involved, I do not even know if they would miss it. The second generation people, because, again they just want to be like Canadians and not look different. That's what I see the second generation as. Their attitude towards everything is just different. [They say] why do you want me to be different to show myself as different from all these people, I want to fit in, rather than look different. And then again kids. I think that these children who grew up here, who were born in Canada and growing up here, they almost feel . . . that they know more than you, and they try to out-smart their parents. [They say] you do not know because you weren't brought up here. You did not grow up here, you just came here. And, am, it seems to me what I am seeing is that these children are actually pulling the wool over their parent's eyes, and doing their own thing and that parents are just letting them make their own thing and the parents are just letting them make their own decisions, and so you are kind of losing the family contact. So the peer pressure . . . it really, it is really heavy for them. And I can see why because you know the kids, my kids, what I feel from them is that they do not want to look different, especially because of all the rifts that they have at the schools, well with all these gangs, they do not want to look like a gang, or be involved as somebody different. They want to integrate more with the Canadian people just so that they are accepted.

This is surprising since the family were among the first to bring Trinidad style Carnival to Edmonton by participating in the Klondike Days Parade. They also indicated that their main reason for doing so was to expose Canadians to their culture. The family is quite musical and it is not surprising that their children carry on this musical tradition by playing Caribbean music. The youngsters have a band which specializes in Soca, Calypso Reggae and Latin American music, but have been reluctant to let their peers at school know about this. My question about if they played in school or if their friends knew that the boys played in their own band got this response:

CCF7: Yes, yes their very close friends [know], the ones that they felt comfortable with know. But even today I have to tell the kids when we are having a dance or when we are having a parade: 'Invite your friends to come over', because they would not think to do it on their own, because they feel a little bit embarrassed. Until they feel comfortable enough that more Canadian people accept them, I do not think that they would say: 'Gee, why don't you come to a dance, we are playing'".

I probed a bit further, with my question to find out if they participated in the school dances. I wanted to know if they ever went out and auditioned to play for the school dance.

"No, because, they don't think that all the people would enjoy their music, it is strange".

Bridges

"It Is Community Oriented and I Do Enjoy That!"

Earlier in this paper I quoted a young person who recognized that the parade provided opportunities for family and friends to meet and reinforce relationships. This sentiment is also expressed by adults. One person extended the idea and said that in general it was good that the community got together because it reinforced a sense of community. People from the Caribbean tend to live in all areas of metropolitan Edmonton. This may be because they understand and function in English, the working language of the area and they do not encounter the language barrier that other visible minority immigrants face. Evidently communities must not only evolve by virtue of a common language. There is always a need to meet others who share similar customs even though you may have different ethnic backgrounds. The annual event is one opportunity to assemble at a particular venue where everyone there has a common interest and through communication further friendships can be established. The parade is a magnet which attracts individuals together but it is the gatherings during and after the parades that influence community togetherness (see Figures 53 & 66). After the parade there is a picnic in the part with

people "liming" and children enjoying the freedom of the outdoors. This atmosphere predominates amidst a planned program of events, along with activities at the concession stands and beer garden.

CCF13: Why yes it is good for all those people to get together and get to know each other. And get to know people who are from Trinidad and wherever, in Edmonton and St. Albert. So I think that it is good for everybody to know each other.

J: When did you get involved in Carnival?
CCM21: In 1982 or 1983 when I first came to Edmonton from Fort McMurray. . . . I brought my [steel] pan to Edmonton and I found that the West Indian Community was dead. . . . I found that it was a dead West Indian community so I decided to start my own steelband. That's what I did, I decided to start my own steelband. Then I realized that there was nothing for the West Indian to go to in Edmonton, so I decided to start Cariwest.

At another interview a similar sentiment was expressed by a mas' producer and his friend. This is perhaps why CCM8 was so committed to make costumes. However no one took me up on the question about the internal bickering that was hinted at in the remark. The topic of internal bickering was insinuated on a few occasions. For someone who was not actually involved in making the mas' or parading in a band the sentiment was the same as she also looked forward to meeting others, catching up with the lives of others and sharing deep feelings about life "back home" and here.

CCM8: For me the people from Trinidad are too far apart from each other and I like to get them together. This is one day when you can get everybody back together, because people are in their own little world.
CCM9: So this is what Carnival means to you, bringing Trinidadians back together and stuff so they can stop their bickering?

J: And stop their bickering?

This bickering was mentioned by another research participant and once again the participant would not elaborate. Others who come to the group are not aware of this power struggle and find the community very welcoming.

CCF13: But I think there is a bigger problem. I mentioned this before. There are so many different groups who are trying to manage things and they do not agree on lots of things. If they would only try to work together rather than work against each other I think it would be great.
CCF11: Great fun, great fun, again it is a meeting place, am, like when you come down you know that you are going to meet someone that you have not met for a thousand years. You know what I mean. And then you get linked into each other, sharing this and sharing that over a drink, talking about what's new, what it was like when you were down there, as to what it is now. So we are even within ourselves, who are the traditionalist, we . . . exchange . . . information, we exchange feelings, we transfer it to each other.

It Is fun!

Many see the practice of dressing up in a costume and playing mas' as an opportunity to have fun. Fun and spectacle are but a few of the characteristics that have been used to describe the Carnival experience. Others think that not only is play important but equally important, is the interplay that occurs between the masqueraders and spectators (see Figures 2, 17 & 61).

CCM12 who was not from the Caribbean enjoyed the experience and gave his account of how he first got involved with playing mas'. His account reveals the open nature of the event and consequently, how easy it is to get involved. He spoke about how he became aware of the event, then about his official involvement and then about how he finally gathered enough courage to actually wear a costume and parade with the other

masqueraders. He also gave his personal impressions of what it meant to him to participate.

CCM12: "I wasn't part of the parade but I would often times kind of walk down with the group that my friend was in or some other people that I had gotten to know a little bit and just kind of half dance on the street, half as a spectator and half as a part of the group. Because I was not in costume, I was in my regular clothes, if there is such a thing anyway. And after a year or two of that I think I said to my friend or she said to me: well why don't you join the group and go down the street and I said sure why not that sounds like great fun. And I do cheat [or so he thinks] *in that somebody else makes the costume. I just don't have time to do that part of it. Am, but I get to wear one [a costume] and to join the group and be part of it in that way. . . . I do it because I enjoy it. There is no question about it. I enjoy being part of the parade. I enjoy the moving down the street. I am still fascinated by the fact that it is so interactive and so much people oriented. The mas' are people not some big truck made to look like something."*

Another first impression came from someone who fostered relationships with people from the Caribbean by listening to Harry Belafonte's music as a child and later while attending Caribbean dances with friends. Her first exposure to Carnival was in Trinidad.

CCF4: I think it was the very first year I had ever played. And I did not just play, I wanted to make mas'. It was something. I do not know why, it was something I wanted to do. When it was mas' to wear I didn't just want to wear it, I wanted to make it.

One person's experience evolved when she decided to play mas' with a band in Calgary. She did not know anyone in the band and had never even heard about the event before she got there to play mas'. Amidst all the fun and excitement she experienced the warmth of community as well as that of belonging even though she had never even seen or heard of Carnival, Calypso or Steelband before.

CCF14: A friend of mine had suggested to me that it would be a good idea. I am an ex-dancer so I tend to get into things that involved costumes and having a good time. I had just finished a stint as a mascot . . . and I was really missing it. So I showed up in Calgary by myself with my costumes and my jams. I did not even know what Caribbean music was. All I thought it was reggae. So I just did what the person in front of me did and I have been doing it ever since.

For me it is a sense of fun. I do enjoy the level of commitment within this community. The premise of Carnival in Edmonton, for me as an outsider is that of a community. It is community oriented and I really enjoy that. My friend decided at the last minute not to show up. So here I am in Calgary without a clue and one of the people realized that I was there by myself and kind of took me under their wings and made me feel automatically like I was part of the community. So that's how all that came about. It was traumatic. It was the sense that when I got there. I knew no one. But someone said do you want to do it again and I said yes. . . . I took the experience a step further to make mas'. . . . There is a sense of community, family. West Indians seem to be very open and warm, a lot of them. So I got into making mas' to learn more about these people, to learn more about them and why they do what they do. . . . Sometimes when you get to a real experience you have to check it out to make sure perhaps if it is true. They may not really be friendly when they are gluing something at three in the morning. Mas' camp is hard work. The bottom line is that it is hard work. But we always found a way to have a good time in the hard work and that I liked.

This sentiment was echoed by many other contributors to my research and one observation during my visits to the mas camps was that despite what appeared to be an overwhelming task ahead there was always an atmosphere of enjoyment amidst high creative energy.

Aesthetic Experience and Transference of Culture

I believe that the aesthetic experience that occurred during the festival aided the transference of culture.

> Aesthetics is the study of human response to the non-instrumental [or non-utilitarian (Hirschman as cited in Fiore, Kimle and Moreno, 1996)] quality of the object or event; specifically, aesthetics addresses the activated internal processes, the object or event's multi-sensory characteristics, and the psychological and socio-cultural factors affecting the response of the creator or appreciator to the object or event. (Fiore, Kimle & Moreno, 1996, p. 178)

Fiore, Kimle and Moreno (1996), examined aesthetics by analysing the creator and the creative process; the object; and the appreciation process and the appreciator. Fiore, Kimle and Moreno (1996) also state that the aesthetic experience comes from insightful expression during creative activity " or discovered during the appreciation process" (p. 31). Fiore, Moreno and Kimle also cite Fratto who states that the "aesthetic experience also involves sensations, emotion, condensed symbolism and expression". Fiore, Kimle and Moreno (1996) further state that both the appreciation and the creative processes focus on the sensual, cognitive, emotional and spiritual processes which are all components of the aesthetic experience.

I decided to go through my interviews, to tag references that were made to the aesthetics, and examine what meanings could be ascribed to the individual's statements. Throughout the interviews participants used meaningful words and phrases to describe aesthetic moments. Phrases such as "sheer delight", "unique experience", "exquisitely done", "dressed very elegantly", "that was mas'!", "awesome costume!", "what a blast!" and "beautiful costumes" and more to describe these moments. In so doing the participants tapped the experiential nature of an aesthetic experience as it related to the costumes, music and event. These expressions of aesthetic experiences come from the creators and appreciators of these costumes.

The costumes and music of Caribbean Carnival are the first elements that attract

onlookers to the event. However once attracted the individuals may first assume the role of curious onlooker. The creators of the costume go to great lengths to use size, colour, and the combinations of colour with other light-reflecting, wind-catching, and thus sight-stimulating embellishments to attract the audiences. The elements of design (line, colour, space, shape, texture and form) and principles of design (harmony, scale, rhythm, repetition, size and proportion) combine to contribute to the aesthetic quality of an object. Also of consideration are the cultural context in which the object is viewed. Many individuals find that the beautiful harmony created by the costumes contribute to their aesthetic appeal and pleasurable experience. Jhanji and Spitz as cited in Fiore, Kimle and Moreno (1996) stated that pleasurable experiences which are generated in the sense organs are the primary impetus behind the creation and enjoyment of artworks. Jhanji also as cited in Fiore, Kimle and Moreno (1996) said that during an aesthetic experience the viewer is removed from reality and becomes totally absorbed in the experience that is provided by the aesthetic object. The Carnival costumes tend to produce that effect. Only one of the mas' makers suggested that he did not "do pretty", but he said that he compensated by having his costumes tell a philosophical or hard-hitting though subtle message through the use of symbolic colours, elements and size (see Figure 53). In spite of his beliefs, his costumes also adhered to the elements and principles of design and had aesthetic appeal. Consequently, it is during these periods of aesthetic exuberance that other messages are transmitted.

CCM14 said that when he was asked to design the costumes for the male and female characters for the band "Amber Valley: That was then, this is now." he had to do some literary research on the topic because he knew nothing about the history of the people. Amber Valley, one of the first Black settlements in Alberta was established around the turn of the twentieth century by Blacks who came from Oklahoma, United States of America. The main purpose of this type of historical masquerading is to educate individuals about the history of pioneer Black Albertans. What he read about the experiences of these settlers shocked him.

CCM14: They wanted to pass a law . . . approving what these people were running away from, things like 'for coloureds only' and 'get in the back of the bus'. They wanted to get into some of these things here because it was all over fear. . . . I spoke to W. P. about my idea because she is the coordinator of everything. She did not like some of the elements [that I wanted to introduce] because my first judgement, and I would be blatant [about it], it was out of anger. Because here we are, I do not want to say racism because . . . it is just people acting out of fear. . . . so that in reading I am saying 'Man tough Cookie, Man'. So my first reaction for the costume that I was originally designing was "From the family tree" involved a dragon."

J: "A dragon!"

CCM14: A dragon as one of the elements in the costume. There was still the youth type thing, but around him was going to be a dragon, where the head of it was going to be in the his hand. Okay, which {the dragon] was going to signify prejudice. A dragon or prejudice, something trying to overpower man. Prejudice, racism was the negative element. But in speaking with her and again too as time went on the anger had subsided. So I had decided that the theme should be . . . [Amber Valley: That was then this is now]. So I decided then and hence that is how this element came into play.

Because the "now" element is youth because we are on the way out, we are on the hill, check that side and that is it. So a bunch of what they are experiencing is what we have prepared for them. So that is the reason why the youth are the aspect of it. You see that is where I sort of used that judgement in deciding what is going to be the eventual element. So that is what sort of led me into that area. And it [the research] was helpful in the sense that it gave me the background and determined what I was eventually going to be doing. I was not too worried about "appreciation and so on" because I said that it has to come from the individual. I don't really dictate, I try to touch but I don't dictate to the person. How I look at it "I do my end and I hope that you, the individual, would see your end and if you see it then I know I did it and I would say "BEAUTIFUL!"

The king's costume portrayed a teenage youth (see Figure 53). He was purposely

dressed in black, green, gold and red to signify the colours of Black Liberation, had Rasterfarian dreadlocks and was listening to a "walkman". The queen's costume was large, made predominantly of white and gold and included a large canvas and a white heart. At some time the wearer was supposed to release some red fluid to colour the costume red. This costume was called "Colour me love, Colour me freedom" . This technique of colouring the costume once it was on stage was first done by Minshall's "King Mancrab" (Nunley and Bettelheim, 1988 p. 31).

CCM14: At some point this costume is suppose to become red, . . . maybe not fully red, but there must be red elements. So that you can see some of that love, some of that blood that goes into that whole idea of community as a whole. Because some people die for certain freedoms that we do have."

I have not commented on this queen's costume because it was not on the streets during the 1998 Cariwest parade as the person who would have worn it did not show up on the day of the parade.

As the appreciator focuses on the colourful costumes he/she can be consciously or subconsciously alerted to other activities that are occurring on or with the costume at the same time. In the Carnival parade these activities are the loud, pulsating music, the dancing of the costumes and the whimsical behaviour of the masqueraders. Pleasing experiences that occur in the sense organs are usually what drives individuals to create and appreciate artworks. (Jhanji & Spitz as cited in Fiore, Kimle and Moreno, 1996)

Another one of my interviewees provided insightful information about how she connected some of the Carnival costumes to African mythology and the Ecology of the West Indies. She pointed out that the costumes were symbols that are sources that can be used for cultural transference. With precise examples, she related how she interpreted the costumes and how she saw the relationship between them and Caribbean Culture (see Figure 54).

CCF11; "It was an enlightenment for me and my family. It was more than enlightenment but an education for my young children, who were born in Canada but are of Caribbean descent and so it was important for us, for them to experience their culture, even second hand and Carnival was one way of initiating that.

Exposing them I would say to their traditions, am, there are strong traditions in Carnival, but these are transferable because a lot of the characters or caricatures that are presented in mas' are based on authentic traditions in literature or in African mythology, in West Indian folklore, in West Indian ecology. For instance the last one , am, that just took place this summer it was just absolute sheer delight to see what was done with the hibiscus which is to children in the West Indies, like ahm, what I would say, what the lovely beaches are to the Caribbean. So that, am. You see a wealth of West Indian traditions like I say going all the way, into the ecology of the area being portrayed in mas' am, so transference does come. The children who are born here of West Indian parentage for instance, they will never understand completely to what extent a flower like the hibiscus is to us. When you went to school in the early years, you took this hibiscus, it cleaned your shoes, it cleaned your slate, it decorated your fence at home. It was just, you took it and you made, you pulled the pistil apart and you made little games with it pulling it apart, (this kind of thing [as she went through a stripping motion]). So ahm, for them to see the relevance how strong it plays in our culture, am and that is just one of the things.

When they watch the people dancing down the street. To see the strong bold rhythms that are just, they are organic to your body, so it does not take any effort out of you the minute you hear this vibrant music starting up, to get with it, and if you are sitting no matter. Whether it is sitting down and tapping the feet in vibrant rhythm or it is standing up and moving around and raising the hand and shooting it up in the air or whatever or rocking the hips. It does not matter what it is. It is just indigenous to their body.

So there is that kind of reaffirmation not only is there a transference, but there is a reaffirmation of culture that is brought on through this Cariwest or the Carnival as

such. So there is that reaffirmation for us who are first generation West Indians here and then there is that reaffirmation and also transference of culture to the children who are born here.

Many of them ahm, have not been to the West Indies. Some of them have but sporadically because it is expensive. It is costly. For them is reaffirmation of their parent's heritage and the transference of culture.

People are interacting with each other. And so not only are we transferring to them but we are transferring to other people too. So that it leads to greater enlightenment. Ahm, so you see people for what they are to a certain extent, understanding the commonalities of human beings, the universal thread that runs through all of us because everybody has their traditions, everybody has their culture and you see the transference when you looked at Carnival.

When you look at Carnival year after year and you see Canadians, am, participating, Canadians who are of Ukrainian origin, Spanish origin, Italian origin, all across. It is a cross section now, Cariwest has brought, its like, it has brought the populace into a conference and it is pulling them downstream into helping to understand that look here, it is one thread, one common thread that runs through us, and it is a thread of humanity, the common voice that is speaking to all of us, the language that we can all understand and the vibrancy of this music tends to be a strong, strong pull for these people to understand that we can enjoy one another. Everybody has something to share, again the transference of culture has been achieved.

A Question of Identity

Encouraging participation of other groups arouses the insecurity of some members of the Caribbean society. There is a struggle between the faction that believes the event would be sustained even if other members of the greater community got involved and the faction who would like the parade to maintain its ethnic roots. One participant related an event that took place in 1992 that demonstrates the level of conflict that can occur

because of differing views about the direction of the event. The first part was off the record but I was allowed to record the following:

CCM2: Let me tell you what impressed me about that woman. The costumes came out, the costumes dances that way. By the time the costumes had come in and left [the stage], she had a complete diagram of the costume [drawn] on a paper. Every costume on a clean sheet, strengths, weaknesses, isn't that what you want to be judged?
CCF1: Yes.
CCM2: The community just figure 'she never played no mas' in Trinidad, What she know about Carnival? Can we go back and invite those people to help us. One experience.
CC1: But it would have helped a great deal.
CC2: It would help, it would move us forward. The incident at the Agricom was embarrassing, I still went back a second time, and I get the same "beat back". I ain't going again to look for people who could lift this thing up. Not me, to embarrass . . . [myself], once, twice, [not again]. They want to see, you have to be Black, you have to play mas' and then only, [would] you know about mas'.
CCF1: But even, even when there is a Black judge.
CCM2: But as you know the judging is always contentious. But those are the first hand experiences that I have had here with moving the Carnival forward.

We came back to the topic of insularity and what was revealed touched on other issues; that of self esteem and the feeling that some believed that they were not full participants in the greater society. In the end he too empathized with the other members of the community that he opposed.

CCM2: Canadians come to see it to enjoy it and we are working to increase their participation because once they participate, there is a lasting participation. But again as I have said before I do not know if it is a coyness or shyness but we are slow to bring

others to participate with us. I don't know why?

CCF1: A bit of insecurity.

CCF2: I don't know if it is an insecurity, you can put it however you want, but I, I mean I do not have those insecurities. I know that. That's why I can say that. But, I can say that I see it amongst a lot of us. Now it also leads to the issues of what are the stresses and strains that we face as new immigrants in this society? And, I say it tells me that maybe I have am, adapted and mastered and overcame a lot of those but I know that a lot of the members of our community haven't.

J: Do you want to go into some of those. Go into that?

CCM2: Go into that, am on the basis . . .

J: What are some of the stresses that you know about?

CCM2: On the basis, not necessarily, I overcome, but survived in spite of the difficulties. On this basis, in the sense, as new immigrants a lot of us initially we feel we are second class because we are new immigrants. That is natural, I don't think that is unnatural. But when you spend twenty-five years in a place it is about time for you to decide that 'I belong here'. You know what I mean and to feel part of that. I think in the employment situation, a lot of us do not get the breaks that we feel that we should get. It makes some of us bitter. It makes some of us, we don't give up but it makes us withdraw, those are the facts. Those are things that I know a lot of us feel. I personally experience in the sense that there are many times I knew that I was not getting my fair shake but my idea was to strive and to proceed in spite of that. So my idea was, my simple philosophy was that where it matters most to me, the forces out there interfere, but they cannot interfere. That is as long as they were not stopping me from putting bread on the table, having a roof over my head and having food to eat. All the other inequities that I might feel, that are being foisted upon me, or the fair shakes that I feel I ain't getting I could ignore. You see what I mean, You see.

J: Uh huh

CCM2: And then again some of the experiences I have gone through as an individual, I treat people like people, and I don't treat people on the basis of the colour of their skin.

Okay so that some, the initial suspicions one might have, to me I have got to the point that most have gone or dissipated. But I think that a lot of the members of our community still harbour a veil [of mistrust].

Figure 53: "Gregory" the puppet is a symbol of Black Youthfulness. He is from the band "Amber Valley: that was then, this is now" seen in Edmonton, in 1998. This technique of costuming is used extensively by Peter Minshall of Trinidad. *Photograph reprinted with permission from WCDA-Cariwest.*

Figure 54. Flower Power is seen here on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton in 1998. The hibiscus flower , popular to the Caribbean is a reminder of the ecology of the area. *Photograph by Anne Lambert..*

Figure 55. Non-Caribbeans also enjoy playing mas' in Edmonton. Councillor Michael Phair is a member of the WCDA- Cariwest band in the Grey Cup parade in 1997. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 56. Non-Caribbean who is very involved in making the costumes, is pictured here in costume. She is from the band "Earth, Wind and Fire" by T & T Cultural Association, Edmonton, in 1999. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 57. This female is seen practising to *wine* or move the hips Caribbean style on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton, in 1998. Transmittance of culture occurs with the aid of music. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

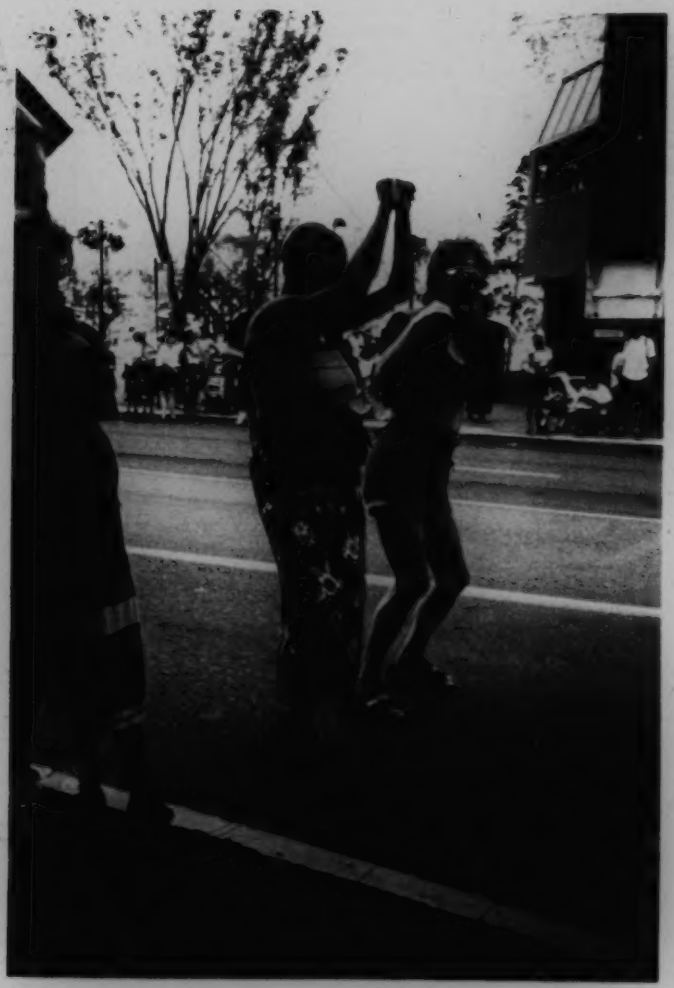


Figure 58. Costumes are used to affirm historical identity. Here the colours of Jamaica, green and gold are used as signifiers. A T-shirt band represents Jamaica on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton, in 1998. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 59. Youth Matador from the band "Ole Olay" by The Pyke Family of Calgary, Edmonton on Jasper Avenue, in 1998 This costume celebrates the Spanish heritage of the area. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 60: Second and third generation Caribbean-Canadians view the Cariwest parade on Jasper Avenue, Edmonton in 1998. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 61. Youths in costume and out of costume share Carnival experience with each other along parade route in Edmonton, in 1998. *Photograph by Anne Lambert.*

Figure 62. "Gone Fishing", is this youth who obviously enjoys playing mas''. He is able to move this boat so it appears to be battling rough seas off the reefs in Trinidad. Pun is one of the elements seen in Carnival (especially J'ouvert). Here one observes a "play on the word" "sea" in the phrase "sea me"emphasized with the "eye". This masquerader was seen dancing on the streets of Edmonton, in 1998. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 63. Decisions are not simple when the Carnival committee of Mas Productions meet to decide which costumes to produce for the parade in 1998. *Photograph by Donna Coombs-Montrose.*

CHAPTER 7

Discussion

Many factors influence the transference of culture within Edmonton's Caribbean community. These are as follows:

- First is the history that is associated with the Carnival of Trinidad and Tobago and those of other Caribbean countries.
- Second, the effort that is put out by the people of Trinidad and Tobago who promote the Carnival in other places.
- Third, Trinidad's Carnival is reaffirmed by the principal promoters who live overseas because they frequently travel back to Trinidad and Tobago at Carnival time to indulge in the sights and sounds of the event.
- Fourth, the conducive atmosphere at the University of Alberta made it possible for students from the Caribbean to be able to host cultural celebrations in the 1960s and '70s. In 1985 Cariwest was organized to continue this tradition. These cultural activities were geared to informing the general public about the Caribbean culture.
- Fifth, the costumed masqueraders are aesthetic elements which are conducive to the transference of culture and they contribute to the ease with which others dialogue about concepts that relate to Carnival and the Caribbean ecology.
- Sixth, regardless of their ancestral backgrounds, Caribbean individuals joined forces to promote the Carnival event in Edmonton and it was seen as a very important opportunity for the transference of their culture.

Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago started as opportunities for celebrating freedom and in some sectors, "fine living". This was evident with the French who moved to the islands and to a lesser extent with the other freed people who moved there as well. After emancipation the previously enslaved Africans were now free and used the occasion to celebrate their freedom.

As the islands' history emerged, Carnival became an arena of contestation where different segments of society struggled to assert their authority thereby demanding more recognition in the event. This arena symbolized the country and behaviours within it mirrored the people's feelings about activities in the country. During the Carnival's early days the lower class in society fought to have aspects of their culture included in Carnival. This was also true of some ethnic groups such as the East Indians who struggled to attain recognition. Finally females by their actions demanded that they be allowed to participate without the usual attraction of negative stigmas.

Once the islands achieved independence, Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago became an expression of national identity. Many of the activities were sponsored by the state or businesses. For example, the Government initiated such programs as steel pan music festivals to improve the calibre of the music and increased the public's profile of the pannist. They also improved the conditions for masqueraders by increasing the funding of their events and this also improved the festival's final product.

The individuals in Trinidad and Tobago who have produced and promoted Trinidad style carnival have viewed it as a transferable event for many years. Cowley (1996) wrote that a string band known as the 'Trinidad Dance orchestra" (or as Lovey's Band in Trinidad) toured the United States of America as early as 1912. They were soon followed by calypsonians who travelled to the United States and London. They were able to promote their calypsos, produce records and record their works in these places with some success. Calypsos were also an accepted musical genre. For example *"Rum and Coca-Cola"* written and sung by the Calypsonian "Invader" of Trinidad was recorded illegally and popularized by the Andrew Sisters of the United States of America in 1943 and the original composer has never been given much credit for it outside of Trinidad (Rohlehr, 1990).

The success of the calypsos overseas encouraged the development of the steel pan through the West Indies. Although the steel pan was popular throughout the West Indies, steel pan music became sophisticated when music festivals were organized for the steel pan in Trinidad. British adjudicators rated the music, approved to the quality and

encouraged the *pannist* to travel and promote their music. Individuals who migrated to Britain and New York found that they congregated in ethnic neighbourhoods in their new home and naturally whenever they got together for celebrations they went to great lengths to have their own Caribbean music. This was similar to the immigrant experience of many others.

Bodnar (1985) who has written about transplanted immigrants stated that:

> [s]omewhere in time and space all individuals meet the larger structural realities of their existence and construct a relationship upon a system of ideas, values, and behaviour which collectively gives meaning to their world and provides a foundation upon which they can act and survive (p. 208).

He goes on to say that ". . . [immigrants] forged a culture, a constellation of behavioural and thought patterns which would offer them explanations, order, and a prescription for how to proceed with their lives" (Bodnar, 1985, p. 208-209).

The term culture is defined as the "way of life" of a social group which also share similar habits, beliefs, customs, identity and tastes; and make similar choices (Cunningham & Voso Lab, 1991; Barnes & Eicher, 1993; & Clarke et al as cited in Epstein, 1998). Epstein (1998) also stated that "[culture] is the way in which social groups handle the raw material of social experience in order to make it meaningful and understandable for members of the group" (p. 8).

After Trinidad and Tobago became an independent country, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago did their bit to promote the country's cultural identity by focussing on the Carnival culture. Therefore whenever the country was invited to events such as World's Fairs and trade exhibitions they always included calypsonians with their calypso music, pannist and their steel pan instruments and carnival costumed individuals in their presentations. Many Trinidadians were familiar with the idea of utilizing the Carnival theme, with its elements, calypso, steel pan and costume, to promote the culture of Trinidad and Tobago.

Another factor that contributes to the proliferation of the Trinidad style Carnivals is the fact that the people who have made it popular in their adopted countries return to

Trinidad and Tobago from time to time to experience the Carnival there. Immigrants who live in Eastern Canada and the United states take advantage of bargain flights to Trinidad and Tobago that are routinely available for those who plan properly, and charters that are organized just to take revellers and tourists to Trinidad for Carnival. Stewart (1986) stated that, "[f]or them, [Trinidadians and Tobagonians,] Carnival stands as a time of renewal, of self-affirmation which can occur in no other way. To miss Carnival is to be diminished" (p. 291). The development of the communication via the Internet has also improved the masquerade band's ability to market Carnival to tourists and Trinidad and Tobago expatriates. One can visit the World Wide Web© site for Carnival bands, view the examples of the bands' costume, select and purchase the costume for the section one chooses to play in without ever visiting a mas camp. This service caters to the foreigners as all prices are quoted in U. S. Dollars. These visits to Trinidad and Tobago have made it possible for expatriates to gauge the popularity of the event and be encouraged to use elements of it to construct a community away from home.

In the 1960s and '70s the University of Alberta functioned as a "home away from home" for many foreign students. This was similar to what Bodnar found when he studied immigrant's relationship to their church. He wrote that many immigrants in a new land sought institutions such as the church for solace (Bodnar, 1985). He continued that "immigrant church activity . . . furthered other goals including communal solidarity, an ethnic consciousness with varying degrees of national and religious identity" (Bodnar, 1985, p. 168).

At the University of Alberta, Caribbean students were able to formulate ways of exposing aspects of their culture to the general public. Individuals in my research who were responsible for promoting the Carnival in Edmonton said that their main objective was to inform others about their Carnival culture because they wanted others to know something about them. At that time the Klondike Days parade was the only event which had a format similar to the Carnival parade and once they got involved they were able to create space and time for sharing their culture and their appearance soon became an annual event. Thus the ritual of Trinidad style Carnival was transferred to Edmonton.

Their actions are comparable with Turner's explanation of rituals. He said that ritualization gave significant meaning to social events and their symbols and that during ritualistic celebrations space and time existed where the semantic meaning of rituals can be shared (Turner, 1987). By incorporating their Carnival parade into the Klondike Days parade these individuals changed the time, space and context of the Carnival parade with which they were familiar. Even though the essential elements such as the costumes and music remained they compromised their dance to some extent. The format of the Klondike Days parade dictates a quick march while the Carnival parade emphasises a "jump up" or dance.

Carnival costumes are an integral part of the Carnival celebrations. These costumes are worn by individuals in masquerade bands where each band depicts specific themes which are chosen from "history, literature, folklore, fantasy, current events . . . or any domain of popular culture" (Manning, 1989, p. 4). The costumes used in Carnival are a particular form of dress[9] that is used to express a specific cultural phenomenon. The majority of the masqueraders or "floor members"[10] (Alleyne-Dettmers, 1993) wear small costumes while the section individuals, the "queen of the band" and the "king of the band" wear very elaborate costumes. Peter Minshall, a noted costume designer, describes the large costume as a dancing mobile. He says that "the challenge of the mobility in mas' (the masquerader and his costume) is to transmit the movement of the performer to his apparel, to magnify it and see it articulated in the far reaches of the structure, yards away from the body" (Minshall, 1977, p. 1). Some of the larger costumes can extend more than ten feet from the body and can also have wheels to assist the masquerader as they are pulled or pushed along the way. In many cases the masquerader becomes one with the costume and is part of this human propelled float. In this case how does one isolate the wearer from the dress? The smaller costumes fit close to the body and are easily identified as dress.

Throughout my research I observed that the masqueraders used their costumes at several different opportunities to transfer their culture. These included the mas' camp, the band launching parties, several parades, on the media, at press conferences and on the Cariwest parade route.

Evidence of this use of dress to express a version of the cultural life of an Immigrant group was observed by Lynch, Delzner and Eicher (1995) during their work among Hmong Americans. This group migrated to the United States of America following the collapse of the Royal Laotian Government in 1975. The women continue their custom of making new garments for their New Years celebration every year even though they have had to modify and adapt the costumes to reflect the materials that were now available in the United States. According to Lynch, Detzner and Eicher, (1995 & 1996) these traditions were important because they were firstly instrumental in securing marriage partners for the young girls and secondly they demonstrated the group's willingness to connect with their past lives in Laos. (Lynch, Detzner & Eicher, 1995 & 1996).

Masqueraders who "dance their costume" want spectators who view them to see the artistry. In addition they also hope the viewers would leave the parade with some sense of the culture of the Caribbean. This was the intent when the Caribbean Carnival parade was first introduced to Edmonton's Klondike Days parade.

In 1998 the seven competitive bands who participated in the Cariwest parade were "Mythical Africa: The new generation" by Humming Bird Recreational Society, "Pages from nature's notebook" by Fitzgerald DeFreitas, "India through the ages" by Robert Norman, "Tropical paradise" by Hot Sands and friends, "Olé Olay" by Callaloo Productions, "Fantasia 2001" by the Caribbean Community Council of Calgary and "Amber Valley: That was then, this is now" by Movements the Afro-Caribbean Dance Ensemble. Six of these bands expressed themes that related to the ecology of the Caribbean and the last one's theme was also relevant to Caribbean immigrants. This band provided historical insights into the lives of Black immigrants who came to Alberta at the turn of the 20th Century and a view of Alberta's Black youths in 1998.

Two of the masqueraders that I interviewed spoke at length about the themes that their costumes portrayed. One said that his costumes were packed with visual images which he leaves to the interpretation of the viewers. However he feels that he has accomplished his goals when the viewers spend time pondering his costumes and questioning his messages. Another said that she hopes that spectators see the deeper

meanings behind her costumes.

CCF15: West Indian Carnival is not only putting costumes on and getting out on the streets. There are far deeper meanings that the general public should see and understand. All they see is a beautiful costume and they see people having fun and that is the general impression.
J: What are some of the deeper meanings that you would like to project or that you hope others would get from the costumes?
CCF15: Well there are several things. I guess that one is that they sort of recognize the artistic ability of the people who are involved. It sort of demonstrates that they could take an idea, they could take a picture or some sort of something and bring it into reality based on something that is representative of . . . or a replication of a thought or idea. They take this idea and materialize it into something tangible, something real. . . . It sort of provides every person the . . . [forum] to express their nativeness (identity), if that is the right word or part of their culture, or what they remember as being their culture.

Others that I interviewed agreed that the aesthetic and dynamic portrayal of the costumes, and the music attracted them to the event. Many were able to express the meanings that they interpreted from the event.

CCM12: I describe the Canadian parade as being static, whereas Cariwest was totally the opposite. Of course there were no big floats as such, instead the parade is made up of people who form a group to represent some idea or symbolic theme. . . . [A]nd of course it is extremely interactive because of course people are dancing down the street and part of this is the encouraging of other people to dance with them and be part of it all. So I was quite taken with the fact that it was so different from what I think . . . [of as] traditionally a parade.

He went on to talk about the cultural understandings that he had gained through participating in the parade.

CCM12: I can't believe how some people make some of those [costumes] and all the work and time that goes into it, and they are quite wonderful to look at. I have gotten to know a little bit about some of the origin and the background of mas'. [About it] it coming from the post slave days of the Caribbean and [about them] imitating their former masters and mistresses. Then [it being] coupled a bit with the lenten kind of thing, some African traditions, some [pre-Lenten] religious traditions. One last time, you know that we have a good time before we have to fast and be good. . . . [O]f course some of the other elements that have been brought into it throughout the years, the different cultural influences that have been brought into it over the years, . . . the different cultural influences that the Caribbean has contributed.

A second interviewee who was originally from the Caribbean related her 1998 Carnival experience to the ecology of the Caribbean and defined opportunities that she observed which strengthened the relationship between groups. She spoke in depth about how the event has helped the children gain a better understanding of their heritage.

CCF12: Because a lot of mas' is based on traditional African musicality, . . . it was more than enlightenment but an education for my young children who were born in Canada, but are of Caribbean descent. And so it was important for . . . them to experience their culture, even second hand, and Carnival was one way of initiating that. Exposing them I would say to their traditions. . . . There are strong traditions in Carnival, but these are transferable because a lot of the characters or caricatures that are presented in mas' are based on authentic traditions in literature or in African mythology, in West Indian folklore, in West Indian ecology.

She agreed that the beautiful hibiscus flowers that were portrayed in the 1998 Cariwest event were excellent examples of the use of Caribbean ecology in the transference of culture. She also talked about how the West Indian attitude towards the event has assisted this cultural transference.

CCF12: When they watch people dancing down the street, . . . to see the strong bold rhythms that are just . . . organic to your body. . . . This is one of the things that I know my boys are delighted with seeing. No matter how aged the West Indian is, he or she is not afraid as soon as the music starts, to start moving. . . . You look at the crowd lining the streets and I mean there were big crowds lining the street and it was such a variety of people. . . . When you look at Carnival year after year and you see Canadian participation, Canadians who are of Ukrainian origin, Spanish origin, Italian origin, it is a cross section now. Cariwest has brought the populace into a conference and is pulling them down stream into helping to understand that, look here, it is one thread, one common thread that runs through us, and it is a thread of humanity. The common voice that is speaking to all of us, the language that we can all understand is . . . music. The transference of culture has been demonstrated very clearly this year with the youth steelband orchestra. Euro-Canadians handled it (the steel pans) beautifully and everyone was thoroughly pleased and applauded them because they had gotten right into the essence of the rhythm, the music, the tonality and everything on the steel drums.

She went on to draw similar parallels with the costumes.

CCF12: I met a man who was talking to me about the puppet (Gregory), then we started to talk about West Indian literature. Again that's a big transference of culture because Africans are noted for their stilt characters, for moving on stilts. We talked about Louise Bennett and Lionel Williams, who were both dead, but they were pivotal in story telling and folkloring [sic]. So not only do you get the transference of one aspect but you get an opening up of people's minds. . . . They are now willing to ask questions because one thing will lead to another. 'Do you only play mas in the Caribbean? What do you do for art?' What are the artists that can deliver this kind of thing and then you can start talking. You can say for instance that we have got a Nobel [prize] writer, we have got two of them and then people become more enlightened.

She went on to differentiate between cultural reaffirmation and cultural transference within the Caribbean community. In this excerpt she recognized the melding of a Caribbean culture.

CCF12: Then it is reaffirming what we have taught our children and transferring to them at the same time too, because art like life grows and changes. So there are changes that are coming which we don't know or have even experienced. . . . You have the Trinidadians who are coming and bringing in these new ideas. It is not only transference of culture but it is demonstrating how culture grows, how it incorporates and endorses. It also goes to show the tolerance of the arts in that it is all embracing. It does not really matter who participates in mas, it might be West Indian, or indigenous, or even Euro-Canadian, . . . the bottom line is you are able to appreciate what it is all about. . . . It has been demonstrated year after year and this year it was really marvellous. . . . It was tops in terms of the involvement of the quintessential artistry that was demonstrated in the costumes. That Indian peacock and the hibiscus flowers, I mean they were exquisitely done. You look at the parade, when it passes by and you look at the extent of the finesse to which these things were assembled . . . and you look at the ultimate, the total commitment that was put into this parade then you have to open your mind more to these people [from the Caribbean] who are so different but basically they are the same as you [those from the greater Canadian society]. . . . So there is that transference, there is that reaffirmation, there is the opening up of avenues for communication. . . . And that goes a far way to bring people together because ultimately that's what you want to do, . . . not just have a parade for a parade sake.

One person from the business community spoke about the complicated costumes and the detailed work. She also found that it was quite easy for outsiders to participate but she also saw the parade as a positive event for advertising the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival. In this respect her opinion corresponds to those of the Chair of the Carnival Bands Association of Trinidad and Tobago.

CCF28: You know . . . the purpose is really to expose people to the culture of the Trinidadian people and hey, maybe they'll want to visit Trinidad or go to the Carnival down there.

If this expressed objective is achieved, the business association here may perceive Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean as the ultimate beneficiaries of these activities. Such a view would be very short sighted because this type of interaction would provide an incentive for the improvement of the festival and an undisputed attraction for all Canadians.

First generation immigrants use several methods to convey cultural messages about Carnival to their children and other relations. Through vignettes about their Carnival experience in Trinidad and Tobago others acquire knowledge about the event. They emphasize that these stories only come alive and are more meaningful when they can experience an actual event. They therefore reinforce these stories by taking their family and friends to Trinidad to experience a carnival parade first hand, by having them participate in the smaller events in Canada or by having them look at videotapes or pictures of the Carnival.

The teenage youths seemed ambivalent about the Cariwest festival. Many do not participate in the parade, that is they do not don a costume and jump up in the parade. Some help their parents assemble the larger costumes before they are put on the streets, while others who have musical bands play the accompanying music for the masquerade bands. Some youths attend the post parade festivals in the park on Saturday and Sunday because they can meet their friends to ***lime***.

When I interviewed or observed the young people I found a variety of levels of acceptance of this cultural phenomenon. Few got involved in making mas' at the mas' camp, some wore costumes and this was particularly true for the females that I observed. Others were close to the activities to observe and be familiar with the entire process but were reluctant to wear costumes and parade with the bands. This was very evident among the male youths. One reason for this lack of youth involvement may be because they may

not want to show any evidence of being different from their peers.

During my interviews teenage youths indicated that their Carnival experience in Edmonton was not shared with their Canadian school mates. Some indicated that if they spoke about the event at all it was to other Black students. One also wanted to meld the Cariwest event with the Klondike Days event and be a part of the whole show. Yet another felt that the Carnival show should be included with the Heritage Days Festival.

One parent shared her children's experience with me and I was able to get some insight about why male youths were reluctant to participate in this event. Her boys have their own musical band and play West Indian and Latin American music which is quite unusual for youths in the community. I say so because I do not know of any other youth band doing that genre of music. I asked her if her boys were involved in playing mas' and this was her response:

CCF7: Get involved, I do not even know if they would miss it.
J: Why do you think they would not miss it.
CCF7: The second generation people, because they just want to be like Canadians and not look different, that's what I see the second generation as. Their attitude towards everything is just different. 'Why do you want me to be different, to show myself as different from all these people? I want to fit in rather than look different.'

Similar sentiments were expressed by some visible minority students who were interviewed by Kelly (1998) and Walrond-Patterson, Crown, & Langford (1998). Some youths are perceived as different when they participate in events that celebrate their cultural heritage so they are reluctant to do so.

Kelly (1998) states that while "racialization or giving raced meanings to social situations takes place in the lives of Black students, . . . current official policy and practices deny the oppressive experiences of being Black in a White-dominated Canada" (pp. 6 & 119). She also states that [t]he perspective from which the curriculum was taught was also seen as implicated in [the] . . . process of intellectual negation (Kelly, 1998, p.

130).

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

Caribbean Carnival has been in Edmonton since the late 1960's as part of the Klondike Days parade and officially as the Cariwest Festival since 1985. Much has been done to promote the event and the Downtown Development Corporation recognized this initiative by nominating the parade for a 1998 Downtown Development Award. Most viewers respond to these costumes as aesthetic objects. These objects, the music and the festival serve to remind individuals from the Caribbean about similar events that occur in their country of origin. The Cariwest festival is also a forum for individuals to celebrate, reaffirm, transmit and transform Caribbean cultural heritage.

In spite of these positive attributes there are still some challenges that must be met. The Cariwest Association is endeavouring to increase corporate sponsorship by marketing the festival as an event that draws crowds to the downtown area. The individual mas' camps struggle every year to maintain their membership. This may be because with the older adults retiring, the events must rely on a steady influx of young individuals if they are to maintain their membership.

Since mas' designers are critical to the event, it will only continue if young individuals learn the artistry that is associated with designing and making the costumes. I saw very little evidence that the youths are learning the "wire bending" or embellishing techniques associated with costume making. As I observed, when the youths become involved in making the costumes they introduce their own style. This initiative may be healthy to the organization but it may also contribute to dissonance.

I felt that I was able to get an overall insight into the youth's perspective of the festival but I believe that further research is required in this area. Youths, especially those with parents who are active participants with the festival should be the focus of a more in-depth study to investigate how they perceive themselves within the Cariwest festival.

I believe that the youths in the Caribbean community would be inclined to participate more if they understood that the skills acquired in the mas' camp were transferable to other jobs. For example, teachers can employ costume making skills in the classroom to make costumes when they depict characters for story-telling. As well, the practical knowledge and sense of design that one acquires in a mas' camps can be transferred to other design endeavours. World renowned theatrical designer, Peter Minshall acquired his unique sense of design through his exposure to Carnival costuming in Trinidad and Tobago.

Research is required to determine how aspects of Caribbean Carnival can be introduced into teaching and learning environments. Further research is also needed to investigate ways to introduce the cultural experiences of youths in a multicultural society into the school system. Youths in my study were reluctant to be forth-coming about their cultural experiences in this society. Further research is needed to determine what programs would be successful in getting these youths to feel welcome in their school environment so that they can feel comfortable about sharing their cultural experiences with their peers. Kelly (1998) states:

> When African Canadians and others who are not part of the dominant group advocate changes in the way in which school is organized, so that it becomes more inclusive in terms of structure and curriculum, their requests create tensions among those upholding the dominant liberal ideology of equality. (p. 132)

Kelly's research indicated that African Canadian's experiences are not validated in the school system. Further research is needed to investigate how her research relates to the youth issues that arose in this thesis.

Some print media have written articles about the festival and many community members see their motivation as one which provokes comments that can sometimes be negative. Members of the community believe that the Association should not only be responsible for hosting the festival but they must also be responsible for fostering

community pride, sustaining identity, and creating a legacy. The Association should therefore investigate ways to achieve these goals if it wishes the Caribbean community to view it as being valuable to their community.

As I conducted my research I discovered that there was some dissonance about the meaning of the festival among some of the research participants. Further research will be needed to determine how this dissonance gives meaning to the festival.

I created an extensive visual archive of photographs and videos through this research. As I believe that studies of these images can contribute to a richer understanding of cultural practices, I plan to conduct further visual analysis.

Lastly, community institutions such as museums have an obligation to represent all cultures in their institutions. This helps to educate the public, opens up the institution to all members of society and gives them an opportunity to experience each other's culture. Museums in the United States have mounted Carnival exhibits (Nunley & Bettelheim, 1988; F. De Freitas, personal communication, April, 26, 1999). This is encouraging news for those who sponsor the Cariwest parade as they hope to one day participate when such an exhibition is held in Edmonton.

Figure 64. Young masqueraders from the band "Earth, Wind and Fire" assemble on 108th Street, Edmonton, before the start of the 1999 parade. They are from the "fire" section evident by the "flame"motifs that are seen on headpieces, standards, costumes and as face decorations. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 65. "Surface dwellers from the deep blue sea", a design by Fitzgerald Defreitas of Seattle/Vancouver is seen in the 1999 Cariwest parade on 108th Street. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 66. "High mas, a moko jumbie" by Osmond Edwards of Edmonton is seen on 99th Street and Churchill Square in the 1999 Cariwest parade. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Figure 67. This is the Queen's costume from the band "Mythical Africa: The new generation" by Humming Bird Recreational Society. She paraded on Jasper Avenue in 1998. In this costume one sees images from the sky (stars), the earth (birds) and the sea (fish) amidst a balance of various shades of blue. *Photograph by Jean Walrond-Patterson.*

Glossary

Amerindian Masquerader - Also called Red Indian or Fancy Indian is a traditional Carnival character whose costume probably depicts a combination of the garments worn by the Indians "from the Guaro of Venezuela" (Martin, 1998, p. 232) and the Plains Indian from North America. "Fancy Indians wear war [head pieces] . . . with brightly colored feathers, and their costumes have embroidery, beads, chokers, shields and painted tunics" (Martin, 1998, p. 226).

Bacchanal - Any large, noisy party. (From Bacchus - God of wine). "Rowdy behavior; . . . popularly used to refer to any situation at which there is excessive confusion" (Martin, 1998, p. 221).

Band - "A group of players. There are many different kinds of bands, including traditional character bands. *Jouvay* bands, *fancy mas* bands, *brass* bands, *calypso* bands, . . . *mas* bands" (Martin, 1998, p. 221) *steel*bands. A band or Carnival band or mas' band is a group of people who together parade on the streets on Carnival days. The bands can be large or small. They usually number in the tens in Edmonton. Although in Trinidad the bands number from the hundreds to the thousands, during 1999 Carnival celebrations, the band "Poison" was said to have had 10,000 people, mostly female. This size band would take about two to three hours to cross the stage. In 1998 Edmonton had twelve bands in the parade.

Badjohns - "Street-toughened fighters connected to communities and **steelbands**, who aggressively defend territory, dignity, and honour" (Martin, 1998, p. 221)

Bomb - This is a slang term for a secret tune that is only known by the steelband group's most ardent supporters. It is usually practised very late at night, is uniquely arranged and is meant to be a surprise when it is played at the **bomb** competition on J'ouvert morning. It can be a classic or pop tune.

Breakfast Shed - A unit similar to a "soup kitchen". It is a place where school age children, whose family were not financially well off, would go for a hot mid-day lunch daily. To-day these endeavours are funded by the government.

Burokeet, Burokit, Burro quite, or Burrokeet, are popular traditional symbols in Trinidad Carnival. **Burro quite** translated from Spanish, means little donkey or "jenny". This mas' was developed from the Spanish and East Indian cultures. The East Indian type was based on the Hindu mother-goddess Durga or Basuli who is depicted as a horse in Sanskrit literature (Crowley, 1956). The Spanish version is similar to those found in celebrations on the Spanish main land.

Callaloo - A gumbo of spinach leaves, ochroes (okras), coconut milk and seasonings. Potpourri (Mendes, 1986). A metaphor for the blending of individuals.

Calinda. See Kalinda.

Calypso Monarch - "The traditional calypso title of 'calypso king' was changed to 'calypso monarch' in the 1970s when Calypso Rose was the first woman to win this title" (Martin, 1998, p. 223).

Canboulay - See canne brulée.

Canne Brulée - An event that commemorates the cannes brulée. These were runaway cane fires. "Fires were used to prepare cane fields for harvesting by removing excess cane blades as well as snakes, wasps, and vermin which habitually nested in the fields" (Stewart, 1986, p. 300). Sometimes these fires burned out-of-control and slaves from other plantations were called to help fight the fires. This was a serious event but it was an occasion when the slaves got together. "The slaves were mustered and marched to the spot . . . with the drivers cracking their whips and urging them with cries and blows to their work" (Hill, as cited in Stewart, 1986, p . 300)

Caribana - Also called the Caribana Festival, it is a Caribbean arts and cultural festival that is held in Toronto, Ontario during the first weekend in August. The event was first organized in 1967 as part of Canada's centennial celebrations. The flagship event is a Carnival parade that is very similar to the Carnival parade that takes place in Trinidad and Tobago.

Cariwest - Cariwest a contraction of the words "Carnival in the West", is a festival that is sponsored by the Western Carnival Development Association of Edmonton (WCDA).

Carnival king and queen - Traditionally, each masquerade band may have a king and/or a queen. After several rounds of competition about five competitors are selected from each category. They then compete at the Dimanche Gras show where the winners of each category is chosen group.

Chantwell, chantrel, chantuelle, shantwell - The lead singer of Cannes Brûlée and Kalinda bands, and early version of a calypsonian who calls for the response in a call-and-response song. Also the lead singer in *Shango* and *Rada* worship. Both Errol Hill (1976) and J. D. Elder (1998) state that late 19th-century Carnival *caiso* was sung by women and a dance by the same name was performed as an interlude in *stick fighting* yards.

Chinese Laundry - This is the stage name of Chinese calypsonian, Tony Chow Lin On. The term is used here to denote Chinese involvement in Carnival.

Chip - "A particular dance-like shuffle. To step in time with music, with the weight mostly

on the toes." (Mendes, 1986, p. 32)

Chutney, Cnutney Soca, Soca Chutney - "The fusion of African and East Indian music of Trinidad and Tobago. . . . Chutney Soca mixes African and East Indian rhythms, uses Hindi words and Indian instruments such as the harmonium and hand drum." (Martin, 1998)

Cropover - A Carnival parade in Barbados.

Dimanche Gras - A Carnival performance that occurs on the Sunday night preceding the Carnival Monday and Tuesday celebrations. At this event the king and queen of the Carnival bands and the calypso Monarch are crowned.

Fancy Sailors - See sailor.

Fêtes Champetres - Rural festival, party in the countryside.

Floor Members - These are the majority of the band members in a masquerade band. Their costumes are simple and depict themes associated with the different band sections.

Jab Jab - "A traditional Carnival character that looks like a happy medieval European clown but is nevertheless a whip-carrying devil. . . . Other terms are Jab Molassi, Jab Molassie, blue devils, red devils. . . . .A Jab Molassi's costume consists of covering the entire body including face and hair with originally molasses, and now mud, tar, laundry blue and/or grease. . . . A Jab Molassi wears briefs and running shoes and lasciviously gyrates to tin drums. Jab Molassis fight or transgress the system or forces that enslave them." (Martin, 1998, p. 227)

Jahlls - Cymbals

Jab Molassi - See the definition for Jab Jab.

Jamette, jamet - "A word of disputed origins, jamette may be from the French *diamètre* meaning boundary, border. It referred to the people who followed the ***Canboulay*** bands in the latter half of 19th-century Carnival. Carnival during this period is sometimes called "jamette Carnival." Jamette also referred to women who followed ***kalinda***. Later on, it was used to designate prostitutes and street-tough women who followed ***steelbands***." (Martin, 1998, p. 227)

Jouvay, J'ouvert, jouvert, jourvery, Jour ouvert. Jou ouvert - Trinidadian Jouvay is derived from the French, "*jour ouvert*", the opening day of Carnival which begins in the early morning hours [now] . . . officially 2:00 A.M. Monday morning before Ash Wednesday. Jouvay is a nocturnal mas that breaks up shortly after dawn. Thousands of

revellers [sic] in old clothes covered with mud, or as *Blue* or *Red Devils*, or drenched in black oil (*Oil Men*) fill the streets. They chip and *wine* following [bands that play calypso or Soca music] . . . or create their own music beating biscuit tins. Jouvay originates from the celebration of Emancipation (Martin, 1998, p. 227). J'ouvert is an opportunity for cross-dressing, with males dressing as females and adults dressing as children. During J'ouvert parody, wit and satire are expressed in thematic bands.

Jump Up - The dance or movement made by masqueraders at Carnival on the streets or [at] fêtes to the rhythm of the Calypso [soca or chutney music]. "The action is normally vibrant, with swaying hip movements extended arms and looks of ecstasy on the faces" (Mendes, 1986, p. 184).

Kalinda, kalenda, calinda, calenda, calender, batille bois: The *stickfight*, its dance, and its songs. Perhaps partially derived from quarterstaff, the hardwood sticks the enslaved were allowed to carry to beat snakes. These sticks were banned in 1810. Also derived from a mock-combat dance of African origin that was a popular from of entertainment on plantations though the islands. The Kalinda is the dance referred to by French planters as the origin of *Canboulay*. The stick fighting includes the challenge, or *lavway*, which is a call-and-response chant, sung in Patois or English, the display of physic or *karray* where the fighters perform rapid dance steps from a stooped position while encircling each other simultaneously, rapid drumming which incites the fighters and encourage the spectators in shouts and almost trance-like motions, and *the pas*, during which the blood-letting from the resulting wounds is allowed to drip inside the *gayelle*, or circle of spectators. (Martin, 1998, p. 228)

Kiddies Carnival -- Carnival events where children participate. These are held throughout Trinidad and Tobago on the days before Carnival Monday and Tuesday.

Leela, Lila. A specific East Indian celebration where a dramatic dance, which tells a story is performed. In Trinidad "the most important leela is Ramlila, the story of Ram (Rama) the god-warrior-king as told in Valmiki's Sanskrit Ramayana" (Sankeralli, 1998, p. 203).

Lime or To lime - "To spend time talking, laughing, drinking [optional] with other people" (Martin, 1998, p. 229). To hang out with other people sometimes by the street corner or at an event without paying to go into the activity.

Lundi gras - Carnival Monday, the first official day of the Carnival celebrations.

Mardi gras - The big event on Carnival Tuesday where the large bands parade on a stage and on the streets.

Mas' - Same as masquerade.

Mas' camp - The location where the costumes of a specific band are assembled and

distributed and where rehearsals, if any, are held (Martin, 1998).

Mento - Mento is the "Jamaican version of calypso. The mento beat was combined with Rock 'n Roll together with jazz to produce the 'ska' beat" (Sealey & Malm, 1982, p. 21).

Moko Jumbie - "If this traditional Carnival character --a stilt-walking "jumbie" or African spirit--is asked where he is from, he responds that he has walked all the way across the Atlantic Ocean from the West Coast of Africa. A Moko Jumbie is the spirit of Moko, the Orisha (god) of fate and retribution. He will emphasize that even as he endured centuries of brutal treatment he remains "tall, tall, tall." His head touches the sky, and he stands astride the crossroads to waylay unwary late-night travellers. Moko Jumbies are found throughout the West Indies. Traditional Moko Jumbies wear long pants or skirts (covering the stilts) and cover their faces" (Martin, 1998, p. 230).

Mud mas', Mud Masqueraders - This is a type of mas that is played for j'ouvert. The masquerader is scantily clothed and coats him or herself with a mud pack. According to Peter Minshall (1998) "the ritual of putting mud onto the body for J'ouvert is about the myth of man being made from that mud. It is returning to the source, it is being one with the universe" (p. 171).

I spoke to TT21 in Trinidad and this is his explanation of mud mas'.
J: Now tell me about mud mas'?
CT21: Well, what we do, it is three of us. We will go to , for the mud in Valencia. We get the soap perfume and the mud and we boil the mud. You get rid of all the impurities that way.
J: Do you add water to this mud?
CT21: Yeah, and boil it. You find that on Carnival Sunday evening and Carnival Sunday night you are there with your liquor and thing and you are boiling the mud and thing.. So by 10:00 o'clock [p.m.] when all the mud is boiled you let it cool down [you add the perfume at this point] and we liming, everybody liming and when it's time to go down the road [2:00 a.m.] you throw this warm mud on you . . . .
J: AHHHH!
CT21: You understand, it not hot, it warm and, so you know, and you going down the road and pulling this tin of warm mud and thing to meet the band and everybody going . . .[to j'ouvert] .
The contents of the tin, boiled mud which measures about five to ten gallons, is used to recoat [sic] oneself or to coat willing spectators.

Old mas' , ol' mas, ole mas - "An old style of satiric masquerade involving visualizing and acting out puns. Old clothes, also an important part of Jouvay are usually worn" (Martin, 1988, p. 231).

Ol' Talk - Idle chatter, social chit-chat.

Pan Yard - "The location, which is normally a yard covered by a large tent, where a steelband holds its rehearsals" (Mendes, 1986, p. 112).

Parades of the bands - This is a term given to the whole sequence of masquerade bands that appear before the judges and public on Carnival day.

Parang - December and Easter are the times that are set aside for "making parang". The word comes from the Spanish "parar"which means "to stop at" or "to put up at"somebody's house. Parang also refers to the many kinds of Afro-Spanish music found in Trinidad. It originated during the eighteen and nineteen centuries among the Afro-Spaniards but later "the music and dance [of] . . . Spanish speaking Venezuelans gradually changed its form". The group usually numbers four to six and their musical instruments consists of the violin, cuatro (a four stringed instrument), mandolin guitar, the maracas and drum. (Sealey & Malm (1983))

Patois (French Patois) - Colloquial or non-standard French that is spoken in the West Indies.

"Pay the Devil" - These are the words that the Jab Jab or devil shouts to the spectators as he/she taunts and scares them into paying money to be left alone.

Pierrot Grenade - "A traditional Carnival character, a jester in the guise of a schoolmaster. The name is French patois for a Grenadian clown. Pierrot Grenade is a pedant with pretensions to learning, but is dressed in rags. The proof of Pierrot Grenade's wisdom is his ability to spell any polysyllabic word, no matter how long, in his own unique way, weaving a story with each syllable. His costume consists of many small strips of brightly coloured fabric, sometimes a book, a schoolmaster's whip, and previously -- although not necessarily now -- a mask or face paint. Some Pierrot Grenades wear cone-shaped hats also covered with the brightly coloured strips of fabric" (Martin, 1998. pp. 231-232).

Roucou (roukou) - *(Bixa orellana)* A tree which grows from about 3 m to 6 m tall and bears brownish fruits that are heart shaped with reddish bristles. The seeds are covered with "an oily, vermilion-coloured coating" that are used as food colouring, and cosmetics. (Mendes, 1986).

Saga Boy/Girl - "Flashy dresser. Dandy. To walk with a stylish gait." (Mendes, 1986 p. 132).

Sailors and Fancy sailors are also traditional mas' meant to mimic the American sailors of WWII (see note 2). Sailors are either dressed in the formal white costumes of sailor outfits, or costumes with outlandish head pieces. In Trinidad sailors are usually played by dashing 'Saga boys'. The headpieces of a sailor's costume usually parody a topical event, depict an ecological theme or various other positions within the navy. Parody is

demonstrated in this band by the exaggerated walk or dance of the sailor. The first opinion for the sailor "walk" or dance is that it imitates his motion when he is at sea. The second and more popular one is that it imitates the "bad" sailor who has imbibed too much alcohol.

Savannah - "Queen's Park Savannah is a large park of about 232 acres that is located in the heart of Port of Spain. It is an open play ground for such sporting activities as cricket, soccer, field hockey. In 1854 the Grand Stand was erected. The area is also the venue for the major Carnival activities" (Mendes, 1986).

Section - Carnival bands usually try to accurately portray particular themes. Thus, each section would feature a specific aspect of that theme. For example if the band is portraying a certain period in history each section would feature different elements that were present in that historical period. One section may be the wealthy lords and ladies of that era while another section may be the peasants.

Soca - "Described by Ras Shorty, the main originator, as the soul of *calypso*. Soca is a fusion of East Indian rhythms with the African musical structure of calypso inflected with influences from North American soul music. Today soca is a generic term used for most of the new music coming out of Trinidad and Tobago" (Martin, 1998, p. 233).

Standard - A standard is similar to a flag on a flag pole which each floor masquerader carries. When the wearing of masks became illegal in Trinidad Carnival (Cowley, 1996), the masqueraders attached the masks to poles, This was a brilliant move because now it is used to symbolized themes of bands, to differentiate one section of the band from another or to provide more meaning to what the artist is depicting. In Carnival therefore, the standard could look like a flag on a flag pole but it can also be an open, gaily decorated umbrella attached a very long pole and meant to symbolize an Art Nouveau lamp shade.

Steel band or steelband - "Musical ensemble whose members play on instruments entirely constructed from steel drums" (Martin, 1998, p. 233).

Steel Orchestra - A band of musicians who play music. Their musical instruments can be either steel pans, or more traditional musical instruments.

Tadjahs - These are beautiful tombs usually including motifs of cut glass and mirrors and reaching heights of 15' to 25'.

Tamboo Bamboo, Tambour-bamboo, tambour bands - Polyrhythmic percussion made by beating bamboo sticks of varying lengths against the ground. . . . Probably derived from Ghana, this art of rhythmic beating led to beating metal piles by the youths of Laventille, [Trinidad and Tobago], who later invented the steel drum (Martin, 1998, pp. 233-234).

Tassa Drums - East Indian - derived single-headed drums made from goat skins stretched

over clay bases. Tassa drums are carried with a shoulder strap and played with sticks. Large two-headed bass drums, struck by the hands, are sometimes called tassa.

WCDA. - Western Carnival Development Association (WCDA). The association founded in 1985, sponsors the Cariwest Festival. This is an arts and cultural festival developed to promote Caribbean culture. The main event of the festival is a parade that is similar in style to the Carnival parades that take place in Trinidad and Tobago.

Notes

1. The tradition of incorporating wheels on costumes was learnt from the East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago when they constructed their *tadjahs* that were paraded at *Hosay* festivals (Nunley and Bettelheim, 1988). Wheels facilitate larger costumes.

2. A census metropolitan area (CMA) is a very large area (known as the urban core) together with adjacent urban and rural areas (known as urban and rural fringes). . . . [The later areas] have a high degree of social and economic integration with the urban core (Statistics Canada, 1993, p. 2).

3. This is the first calypso that I can remember as a child. This is perhaps so, because it mentions my name. It may be because the singer, Francisco Slinger (Mighty Sparrow) won the calypso king and road march competition (the most popular song played by musical bands on Carnival Monday and Tuesday) with that song in 1956. The calypso contains a double meaning. It suggests that now that the American soldiers, who were big spenders with the "sailor mentality" were gone, he could have any of the girls in town.

According to Johnson (1988):

> . . . . [T]he US servicemen who come down to work at Chaguaramas base were big spenders, brash and vulgar as only Americans could be and as such elicited the admiration of the working class. They were also racist whore-mongers who bred a resentment against themselves as well as against the 'mother and daughter working for the Yankee dollar'. It is no coincidence, then that . . . Francisco Slinger (Mighty Sparrow) became an instant hero of the working class when at his debut he sang; '*Yankee gone and Sparrow take over now*'. As if to vindicate this vision, five years later, at the peak of the nationalist movement, another working class hero, Eric Williams [the first Prime Minister of Independent Trinidad & Tobago], led a march to symbolically take over Chaguaramas.(p xvi)

4. Aunt Clemmie - Clementina Howard was the eldest of my fathers seven siblings. My father was the eight. She was socially conscious of the needs of her community. Because she knew that many poor, young people were going to school hungry, she organized and built a place (called a breakfast shed) in her backyard where she fed many youngsters a hot meal daily. There was no government assistance for this program at that time so she would raise the food and other supplies by going to shop-keepers and other community members who were financially better off. She also held Carnival dances at her home. Aunt Clemmie received an "Order of the British Empire" award for her community work.

5. Klondike Days - Edmonton was the last town along one of the routes to the Klondike gold rush in the Yukon. The Klondike Days festival occurs in July in Edmonton for ten days every year. The celebration starts off with a parade which consists of marching bands, individuals dressed in "turn of the 20th Century" clothing, and many community

sponsored floats.

6. La Romain - A suburb of San Fernando, the second largest city in Trinidad and Tobago.

7. Skinner Park - A park in San Fernando.

8. Heritage Days Festival - The Heritage Days Festival is a three day festival that celebrates Edmonton's multicultural population and its ethnic diversity. It is held at Hawrelak Park and takes the form of a "picnic in the park" with an emphasis on the presentation of food, dancing and artifacts amidst a cosmopolitan mix of languages.

9. Dress is defined as "an assemblage of body modifications and supplements displayed by a person in the presentation of self. Dress, so defined, includes a long list of possible direct modifications of the body such as coiffed hair, coloured skin, pierced ears, and scented breath, as well as an equally long list of garments, jewelry, accessories, and other categories of items added to the body as supplements" (Roach-Higgins and Eicher, 1992, p. 7).

10. The Carnival band has a definite structure which includes the king and the queen of the band, individuals, section leaders and floor members. The floor members constitute the majority of the band. Younger individuals may be junior kings, queens and individuals.

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Appendices

Figure 68. An uplifting experience is felt by this young spectator at the Cariwest Parade in Edmonton in 1998. This photograph illustrates transference of culture across age, cultural, geographical and ethnic boundaries. These elements were discussed in my thesis. *Photograph by Paul Stanway. Reprinted with permission from Paul Stanway, The Edmonton Sun.*

Appendix 1

CARIWEST

#101 - 9924 106 St.
Edmonton, Alberta T5K 1E2
Tel/Fax: 421 - 7800

February 9, 1998

To Whom It May Concern:

Dear Sir/Madam

Mrs. Jean Walrond- Patterson is an active member of Edmonton's Caribbean Community and a regular participant in the community events sponsored by the Western Carnival Development Association (WCDA). WCDA is a non-profit organization its mandate is to promote the Caribbean Arts Festival - **CARIWEST.**

Jean has informed The Board Of Directors of her research in the Faculty of Human Ecology . Her study subject *" Caribbean Canadians Celebrate Carnival – Intergenerational relationships and costumes "* is of interest to us. We are pleased that she has chosen to use our resources. She has our support and we have agreed to assist her in whatever way we can.

This letter is to confirm that she has been given our consent to conduct participant observation research with members of our association . In addition we have granted her the right of access to the documentary resources of our association.

We wish her good luck with her research and look forward with anticipation to its successful completion.

Sincerely,

Brian C. Alleyne

Brian C. Alleyne
Past President

"EDMONTON'S CARIBBEAN FESTIVAL

Appendix 2

The World's A Carnival: Carnival & Festivals During 1998 (Hall, 1998, pp. 46 - 47)

(The following information about the Carnivals that are held around the World is taken from a tourist magazine whose main objective is to promote these activities.)

Traditional Pre-Lenten Carnival Festivals:

Aruba
Bonaire
Brazil
Cape Verde
Curaçao
Dominica
Dominican Republic
Dunkerque
Guadalupe
Guyana Mashramani (Independence Day Celebration February 23rd)
Haiti
Jamaica (Reggae Sunsplash February 5th - 8th)
Malta
New Orleans
Nice
Panama
St. Bartholomew
St. Lucia
San Diego
Trinidad & Tobago

1998 Spring Carnivals (March through May)

Virgin Gorda	March 23rd - 28th
Jamaica Carnival	April 9th - 12th
St. Marten	April 17th - May 3rd
St. Thomas	April 19th - May 2nd
Cayman Islands (Batamano Carnival)	April 24th - May 1st
Barbados (Congaline)	April 27th - May 1st
Bermuda Day	May 25th
San Francisco	May 21st - 25th
Atlanta Peach Carnival	May 21st - 25th

Los Angeles	May 21st - 25th
Orlando	May 21st - 25th
Oakland	May 21st - 25th
Oklahoma City	May 21st - 25th

1998 Summer Carnivals (June - August)

Galveston	June 12th - 14th
Calgary	June 23rd - 30th
Barbados Cropover	June 28th - August 1st
St. Vincent	June 27th - June 8th
St. Petersburg, Tampa	July 13th - 20th
Saba Dutch Caribbean	July 26th - August 3rd
Montreal Carifesta	June 1st - June 28th
St. John's	June 29th - July 5th
Chicago Bacchanal	July 11th - 13th
Edmonton Cariwest	August 7th - 9th
Washington D.C.	June 26th - 28th
Toronto Caribana	July 22nd - August 3rd
York, Canada	July 27th
Puerto Rico, Loiza	July 20th - July 29th
Nevis Culturama	July 22 - August 3rd
Syracuse	June 11th
St Eustatius	July 25th - July 27th
Tortola	July 20th - 29th
Jersey City	July 25th
Vancouver	July 26th - July 27th
Anguilla	August 1st - 9th
Antigua	July 25th - August 4th
Saba Summer Festival	August 3rd - 4th
Belize	September 5th - 13th
Jamaica Sunfest	August 5th - 9th
Cambridge Cari-Cam	August 7th - 10th
Detroit	August 7th - 9th
Winnipeg Caripeg	August 7th - 9th
Baltimore (In the Park)	August 7th - 9th
Chicago Carifete	August 22nd - 24th
Boston	August 22nd - 24th
Dallas/Forth Worth	August 28th - 30th
East Orange	August 16th
Tallahassee	August 21st - 23rd
Notting Hill	August 21st - 23rd
Brooklyn	September 2nd - 7th
" Fulton Street Festival	September 21st

Westchester	September 20th
San Diego	September 2nd - 7th
Houston	September 26th - 28th
Costa Rica	October 9th - 12th
Brooklyn Las Lap Carnival	October 4th
Cayman Pirates Week	October 17th - 26th
Miami	October 9th - 12th
Key West	October 17th - 26th
Jacksonville	November 1st - 2nd

Christmas & New Year's Carnivals (December 22nd 1998 - January 6th 1999)

St. Croix
Montserrat
St. Kitts & Nevis
Saba Winter Carnival December 4th - 6th
Bahamas

International

Berlin Karneval der Kulturen	May 17th
Paris	Mid July
Liverpool	July 19th - 22nd
Nijmegen	September 26th - October 12th
Manchester	May 25th
Stockholm	July 30th
Guadalajara	September 30th - October 9th
St. Petersburg	May 31st - June 6th
Leicester	August 2nd
Nice	February 14th - March 2nd
Louvain	June 27th - 29th
Vilnius	August 10th - 12th
Santiago de Cuba	June 30th - July 7th
Norrkoping	August 16th
Dunkerque	January 17th - February 15th
Huddersfield	July 12th
Leeds	August 24th
Derby	August 29th
Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Canary Islands)	February 6th - 28th